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RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Devoted to *Scientific Study* of Rural Life

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Economic Structure In Two Breton Villages

By R. K. Mukherjee† and F. K. Girling

ABSTRACT

In this paper an attempt has been made to show that the economic structure of a society can be determined directly by taking account of its defined properties (that is, the economic structure reflects the way in which the means of production are owned and the social relations between men which result from their connection with the process of production), instead of selecting the most differentiating form to represent the economic structure from an indirect process of examining several socio-economic groupings recognized in a society. To study only the internal variations of a society, by keeping the external factors at a fairly constant level, the data for this study were collected from one socio-economically homogeneous area but with the two villages representing the two main variations of the state of the productive forces within the area.

One of the writers (Mukherjee) has shown in a paper published some-time ago that the economic structure of a society can be determined by an indirect process of examining several socio-economic groupings recognized in the society, to find out which one of them properly segregate the people into distinct and homogeneous groups with regard to their economic relations.¹ In this paper the writers intend to show how the economic structure can also be determined directly from a consideration of its defined properties. The data for this paper were collected by the writers in July, 1947 when they surveyed two villages, viz. Brignogan and Chateauf-neuf-du-Faou in Brittany, France.

To obtain useful data from a brief survey, it was necessary to concentrate on one economic type only, that is, on a single form of production. An industrial area was rejected at the outset, not only because the econ-

omy as such is very complex, but also because, due to its close proximity to urban settlements of non-industrial population, there inevitably results a considerable inter-mixture of the two types of social and economic organizations in the society. Moreover, agriculture remains an important form of production in France. In 1939, 62.01% of the total surface of the country was under cultivation,² even though the rural population of France had diminished considerably within a century (75% in 1846 and 47% in 1939).³ For these reasons, it was decided to examine an agricultural community of France, as being most easily distinguished from other types of society.

Besides the selection of the type of economy, it was also essential to decide on the area in which the type of economy selected would be spread

² "Situation de L'Agriculture Francaise," Michel Auge-Laribe, Editions Berger-Levrault, 2nd edition, 1945, p.12.

³ "L'Agriculture Francaise," Bulletin Mensuel d'Information Economique, February, 1947, No. 23, p. 3.

† The Social Survey, London.

¹ "Economic Structure of Rural Bengal; A Survey of Six Villages"; *American Sociological Review*, XIII (December, 1948).

uniformly, and would not be subject to different degrees of influence due to varying external conditions in different regions. The communes for study were therefore chosen from the Department of Finistère in the district of Brittany. Brittany is regarded in many ways as one of the most backward agricultural districts of France. This is partly due to its comparative inaccessibility, the absence of any large-scale industry, the Breton language (which has tended to restrict contact with other areas), and to the strong influence of the Church.⁴

In Brittany, Finistère was selected as the site which seemed to represent a uniform economic area from the point of view of the present study. This was the department showing the most intensive cultivation in France with the highest proportion of workers on a unit of land;⁵ at the same time it has a non-agricultural population of only 0.4%.⁶ Moreover, it still maintains the traditional "peasant" economy of France to a great extent. Small-scale cultivation is the rule in the department; the average area per cultivator is only 2.7 hectares⁷ (1 hectare = 2.471 acres), the average number of hectares per holding, 9.54,⁸ and less than 10% of the hold-

ings are of more than five hectares each.⁹ Agriculture is carried on in the traditional way. Mechanization of agriculture is not a distinctive feature of France;¹⁰ and even so, in the descending order of departments hiring reaping machines in France, Finistère belongs to the third category.¹¹

Finistère may be divided into three main geographical regions: the *peninsula* of the north, the mountainous region of the centre of the peninsula, and the Chateaulin basin. The soil of all three regions is composed in approximately the same way. In no place is it particularly fertile; differences in climate contribute to make these areas more or less productive agriculturally. The northern *peninsula*, exposed to the harsh sea winds, with an impermeable soil, is comparatively poor. The basin of Chateaulin, being sheltered from the winds and where the soil, due to decomposition, is more permeable, is much richer.¹² Two communes have therefore been selected, one from the northern area and one from the Chateaulin basin. The mountain regions have been left out, firstly, because of the limiting factor of the time at the disposal of the writers, secondly, because, from a superficial examination, as well as from a discussion with the Mayor of Huelgoat (a commune in the Moun-

⁴ "La Structure Agricole de la France," Central National d'Information Economique, 1946, p. 35.

⁵ *Ibid.* (2), p. 23.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 21.

⁷ "Geographie Economique et Sociale de la France," Pierre George, Edition Hier et Aujourd'hui, 1946, p. 92.

⁸ "L'Ordre Eternel des Champs," Roland Maspétol, Librairie des Medicis, 1946, p. 444.

⁹ "Annuaire Statistique," 1934, Table 11, p. 16.

¹⁰ "L'Evolution Scientifique et l'Agriculture Francaise," Albert Demolin, Flammarion, 1946, p. 208.

¹¹ *Ibid.* (2), Map. V.

¹² "La basse Bretagne," C. Vallaux, La Societe Nouvelle De Librairie et D'Edition, 1905, pp. 11-13.

tains of Arrée), it seemed that from the point of view of the state of productive forces, these regions closely resemble the northern part, and thirdly, because agriculture is not the most important form of production in these regions.¹³

The village of Brignogan, situated on the north coast of the peninsula, about 30 miles north-east from Brest, is one of the communes in the canton of Lesneven. The total population of the commune is just over 1,000, of whom about 400 live in the village itself. The main occupation of the inhabitants is agriculture, a small number of families are engaged in in-shore fishing during the summer. The tourist traffic during the holiday season is a subsidiary source of income. There are no important industries carried on in the commune. The land-holdings are small, and they belong in the main to local farmers. There is practically no class of non-cultivating landlords. The proportion of owner-farmers is slightly higher than that of the tenant-farmers; there are no *metayers*.¹⁴ Probably be-

cause of the low productivity of the area the tenant-farmers have no particular incentive to settle in this commune, and for the same reason the landed aristocracy of the country has not considered it to be an area worth exploiting as landlords. The importance of the productivity of the land in this connection has been brought out in a detailed study of lower Brittany.¹⁵

The village of Chateauneuf-du-Faou in the basin of Chateaulin, sixty miles south-west of Brest, is the centre of the canton of the same name, and has a population of 1,700; there are 3,900 in the commune. There is some small-scale local industry, such as flour-milling, making and repairing agricultural machinery, stone masonry, etc. in the commune. Also the river fishing attracts a number of sportsmen. The main occupation of the people is agriculture. The farms are larger than in Brignogan and there are correspondingly more cows and horses. More non-family labour is employed. Unlike Brignogan, there are more tenant than owner-farmers. But again there are no *metayers*. Most of the land in the commune belongs to three large local proprietors, and the farmers are thus mainly tenants. For many years these landlords and their forebears have been living on agricultural income, and reference to them is available as early

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 113.

¹⁴ Land in France is owned by private individuals, the Church, and the State. Although France is usually regarded as a land of small peasant-proprietors, the great landed proprietors own much more property and exert much greater influence (even on a national scale) than is generally believed to be the case. (See, "Peasantry and Crisis in France," Neil Hunter, Gollancz, London, 1938, pp. 68-71.) The large landowners usually farm little or none of their land, and the estates are divided up into farms of various sizes, let at money rent or on the system of crop sharing known as "metayage". The active agricultural population of France is thus divided into three categories, according to their property relations in land: *propri-*

taires, the peasant-farmers who own their land; *locataires*, tenant-farmers or leaseholders, who pay rent in cash and whose lease is generally for three, six, or nine years; and *metayers*, tenant-farmers who pay rent in kind or occasionally by service.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* (12), p. 64.

as 1794.¹⁶ But, as reported by the local inhabitants, at the present time one is in prison for collaboration with Germans, the second was so thoroughly compromised that he disappeared when the Germans left, and the third does not live in the commune. To avoid unnecessary complications, and in order to make a precise study of the problems as stated in the beginning, it was decided to consider only the agricultural population of the communes. This meant a total sample of all families in the two communes who depend on the direct exploitation of the land for a part or the whole of their income. Thus persons who may be noncultivating landlords and receive rent for their land were excluded; while fishermen, labourers, rural artisans, etc. who, in addition to following their trades, work on the land as owners, tenants or employers, were included.

It is evident from the above that although they form part of a homogeneous economic area as regards the form and technique of production, the two villages differ to an appreciable degree in their specific composition. Thus, on the whole, Chateauneuf-du-Faou is a much more self-sufficient economic unit than Brignogan. The former village is more prosperous. Its farmers generally have larger holdings than those of Brignogan, and most of their houses are bigger, with two stories rather than one. Further, although the horse is the sole means of motive power in

both villages, there are many more horses in Chateauneuf-du-Faou than in Brignogan. Taking into consideration all families in the villages, the average number of horses per family is 1.65 in Chateauneuf-du-Faou as compared with 0.61 in Brignogan. Finally, the division of the society by the utilization of labour power or by production-relations¹⁷ is much deeper in Chateauneuf-du-Faou than in Brignogan. There, where the farms are small, cultivation depends only on family labour, (except in the case of three owner-farmer families, two of which hire daily workers, or *journaliers*, and the third of whom has a permanent worker, or *domestique*, living in the house). Moreover, the two families who employ daily workers in Brignogan are forced to do so because, although they own very small holdings (less than one hectare each), there are no adult male members of the family to do the work. On the other hand, in Chateauneuf-du-Faou in a large number of families the family labour is supplemented by hired labour, either of the *journalier*

¹⁷ For an explanation of the concept implied in the above discussion, see "The Theory of Capitalist Development," Paul M. Sweezy, Denis Dobson, London, 1946, pp. 24-25. (It is worthy of note here that in the ultimate analysis of a society, when the national economy is considered as a whole, the utilization of labour power and the property relations on the means of production evidently lead to the same groupings. But in dealing with small areas, and a part of the entire economy, it was found useful to consider the two features separately. Since, in deciding the economic structure, the utilization of labour power is of greater importance than the property relations on land, as will be seen later, the former has been regarded in this paper as representing the production-relations of the society.)

¹⁶ "Voyage dans le Finistère ou Etat de ce Department en 1794 et 1795," Cambry. Paris, 1795.

type, who live elsewhere and come to their employers' farms every day to work, or of the *domestique* type who are lodged and fed completely by their employers. Further, because of the deeper social division of labour in Chateauneuf-du-Faou the property relations on land in this village must include an additional category, viz. the "cultivator-farm labour", besides the usual categories of owner and tenant-farmers, etc. as stated in reference (14). This category consists of families which derive part of their income from working on other's land and the rest from working on the land under their own possession.

The writers are inclined to believe from the above that the two samples of agricultural communities will not only indicate the functioning of the economic structure of the society, but will also show how some specific features of the economic structure undergo greater elaboration depending upon the unequal development of the areas and further social division of labour, however small the changes may be.

The economic structure of a society is regarded as the result of its mode of production. This means that, based on the type of productive forces within the society, the economic structure is the expression of the way in which the means of production are owned, and of the social relations between men which result from their connection with the process of production.¹⁸

¹⁸ For a full definition of the economic structure of a society, see "Studies in the Development of Capitalism," Maurice Dobb, Routledge and Sons Limited, London, 1947, p. 7.

Therefore, since agriculture is the main occupation in the two villages, in both cases their economic structure must be primarily based on the internal land groupings.

That agriculture is the main occupation is borne out by the following table which shows that (i) only a few families of Brignogan depend, even partially, on nonagricultural occupations; and (ii) agriculture as the sole occupation in the family is found more frequently in the higher land level.

TABLE 1. FAMILIES BY LAND LEVELS IN HECTARES.

| Family occupation | Number | | Percentage | |
|-----------------------------------|--------|-----|------------|-----|
| | 0-1 | 1-3 | 0-1 | 1-3 |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| Agriculture . . . | 35 | 48 | 62 | 86 |
| Agriculture and other occupations | 22 | 8 | 38 | 14 |
| Total | 57 | 56 | 100 | 100 |

In Chateauneuf-du-Faou also it is seen that the families which have another source of income as farm-labourers belong to the lower land levels. This is shown in Table 2.

It should be noted from this table that in the lower land level of 0-5

TABLE 2. STATUS OF FAMILIES BY LAND LEVELS.

| Land in hectares | Number of families | |
|------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| | Cultivator | Cultivator-farm labourer |
| (1) | (2) | (3) |
| 0-5 | 71 | 81 |
| 5-10 | 114 | 3 |
| 10-15 | 44 | — |
| 15-35 | 42 | — |
| Total | 271 | 84 |

hectares there are 81 families which depend on cultivation and working as farm labourers, while there are only 71 families in the group which derive their income from cultivation alone.

Besides the mere possession of land, the production relation has been regarded as a significant factor which causes differentiation within the society. The production-relation is based fundamentally on the use of labour-power within a society. Therefore, the primary differentiation is based on whether the land is cultivated by family labour or by hired labour. In the village of Brignogan, where all except three families cultivate their land by use of their own labour-power, this factor has no significant effect in the social differentiation of the group. But the families of Chateauneuf-du-Faou can be so differentiated as shown in Table 3. This table

TABLE 3. NUMBER OF FAMILIES BY TYPE OF LABOUR EMPLOYED ON HOLDINGS AND LAND LEVEL.

| Land in hectares | Own Labour | Hired Labour |
|------------------------|------------|--------------|
| (1) | (2) | (3) |
| 0- 5 | 145 | 7 |
| 5-10 | 102 | 15 |
| 10-15 | 24 | 20 |
| 15-20 | 6 | 26 |
| 20-35 | 4 | 6 |

shows that the higher the land levels, the more frequent is the employment of other than family labour. It is obvious from *a priori* grounds that the families with larger holdings are more prosperous, and that they can employ, and also require, more hired

labour on their land; but it is worth stressing that the utilization of labour-power should be considered as one of the determinants of the economic structure.

The ownership of the means of production should also be regarded as an important constituent factor in the economic structure of a society. Since land is the principal means of production in an agrarian society, the property relations on land will be primarily reflected in the system of land tenure. It has already been noted that the inhabitants of Chateauneuf-du-Faou are more likely to be tenant-farmers, since the land is largely concentrated in the hands of noncultivating landlords, and the productivity of the land is high. On the other hand, owing to the low productivity of the land in Brignogan, there is no particular incentive to the landed aristocracy to hold land there, or for the peasantry to take it up for tenant-farming. The property relations on land are thus seen to divide the two agricultural communities into their component groups of different proportions, showing the difference in the composition of their internal economy.

It thus follows from the above that, for a proper consideration of the economic structure, three factors have to be taken into account simultaneously. These are: (i) the possession of land, (ii) the utilization of labour-power or the production relations, and (iii) the ownership of land or the property relations in the society. The differentiation of the families

TABLE 4. SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE IN LAND OWNED BY OWNER-FARMERS AND TENANT FARMERS.

| Criterion | N | Land owned (in hectares) Mean \pm s.e. | <i>t</i> test for mean difference | |
|---------------------|-----|---|-----------------------------------|------------|
| | | | Computed | at $P=.01$ |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| Owner-farmer | 69 | 1.4188 \pm .0555 | | |
| Tenant-farmer | 44 | 0.9227 \pm .0627 | 5.92552 | 2.57582 |

under these three criteria is statistically significant as shown in the following.

The comparative position in the economic structure of the above groups is clearly seen by their mean holdings of land. For Brignogan this is shown in Table 4. The table shows that the mean land owned by the two groups is significantly different, as shown by the higher computed value of *t* in col. (4) as compared to the value of *t* at the one percent level of significance. Col. (3) of the table shows that the mean holding is higher for the owner-farmer than for the tenant-farmers. The reason why tenant-farming is not so popular in this village has been stated earlier.

At Chateauneuf-du-Faou a larger number of groupings have to be considered than at Brignogan, since in this village the utilization of labour-power for cultivation is one of the differentiating factors. Table 5 gives the mean land-holdings of the groups

under the categories already defined. The difference in the mean values of the above table is statistically significant as seen from the following analysis.

Firstly, the mean value under the group of "cultivator-farm labourer" is seen to be significantly different from the other groups. A significant difference in the mean value under this group from the rest is proved by the application of *t* test to the difference between this value and the smallest mean value represented by the other groups, that is, by comparing with the group of "owner-farmer and own-labour". This is shown in Table 6. The table shows that the computed value of *t* is much higher than the expected value of *t* at the one percent level of significance, proving the significantly poorer condition of the "cultivator-farm labourer" group in the society.

Next, considering the significance of the utilization of labour-power on

TABLE 5. MEAN LAND OWNED (IN HECTARES) AT CHATEAUNEUF-DU-FAOU
*(NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN PARENTHESES).

| Ownership of land | Utilisation of labour-power | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| | Own | Hired | Total |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Owner-farmer | (87) 6.4897 | (29) 11.8621 | (116) 7.8328 |
| Tenant-farmer | (107) 7.7117 | (48) 15.9583 | (155) 10.2655 |
| Cultivator-farm labourer | (84) 2.4077 | — | (84) 2.4077 |
| Total | (278) 5.7266 | (77) 14.4136 | (255) 7.6113 |

TABLE 6. SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE IN LAND OWNED BY CULTIVATOR-FARM LABOURER AND OWNER-FARMER FAMILIES.

| Criterion | N | Land owned (in hectares) Mean \pm s.e. | t test for mean difference | |
|--------------------------------|-----|---|----------------------------|----------|
| | | | Computed | at P=.01 |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| <i>Own labour:</i> | | | | |
| Cultivator-farm labourer | 84 | 2.4077 \pm .1541 | 9.0270 | 2.576 |
| Owner-farmer | 87 | 6.4897 \pm .4251 | | |

the property relations, it is seen that the mean values differ significantly. This is shown in Table 7. Finally, for a proper evaluation of the simultaneous working of the three factors of differentiation, it is necessary to observe the effect of the property relations on the production relations, that is, on the utilisation of labour-power, and the significance of the interaction between the two effects. For obvious reasons, if the interaction is found to be significant, the other factor must have a positive ef-

fect, since the effect of the production-relation on the ownership of land has been found to be significant. Table 8 gives the result of analysis of variance to test the effect of the interaction between the property and the production relations on the mean holding of land. Thus it is seen from the above analysis that from all considerations the mean values of the possession of land are significantly different due to the main factors determining the economic structure.

It is interesting to note in this

TABLE 7. SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE IN LAND OWNED BY TYPE OF LABOUR UTILISATION WITHIN OWNER-FARMER AND TENANT-FARMER GROUPS.

| Criterion | N | Land owned (in hectares) Mean \pm s.e. | t test for mean difference | |
|-----------------------|-----|---|----------------------------|----------|
| | | | Computed | at P=.01 |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| <i>Owner-farmer:</i> | | | | |
| Own labour | 87 | 6.4897 \pm .4251 | 6.6806 | 2.617 |
| Hired labour | 29 | 11.8621 \pm .6827 | | |
| <i>Tenant-farmer:</i> | | | | |
| Own labour | 107 | 7.7117 \pm .3799 | | |
| Hired labour | 48 | 15.9583 \pm .6248 | 11.2782 | 2.576 |

TABLE 8. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE INTERACTION BETWEEN THE PROPERTY AND THE PRODUCTION RELATIONS ON THE MEAN HOLDING OF LAND.

| Analysis of Variance (excluding the group of cultivator-farm labourer) | Degrees of freedom | Sum of squares | Variance | F |
|--|--------------------------|-------------------|----------|---------|
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| Between production relations | 1 | 2898.8780 | | |
| Between property relations | 1 | 392.6516 | | |
| Interaction | 1 | 108.4153 | 108.4153 | 4.9750* |
| Residual | 267 | 5818.5144 | 21.7922 | |

* = significant at the five percent level.

connection that the difference due to the interaction between the use of labour-power and the ownership of land has also been proved to be significant. The reason for this is apparent from Table 5, in which it is seen that although on the whole the tenant-farmers possess a larger mean holding than the owner-farmers, the latter employ hired labour on smaller holdings than do the former. This seems partly to be the result of a slightly larger family size of the tenant-farmers as compared with that of the owner-farmers (5.07 as compared with 4.34), so that more family labour is available for the former. Also, because the tenant-farmers have to pay a share of their income to the landlords, they cannot afford to employ hired labour on such small holdings as can the owner-farmers who are not subject to that form of exploitation. On the other hand, many more tenant-farmer families employ hired labour (39% of the total) than do the owner-farmer families (25% of the total), and the former group also possess more land. This can be accounted for by the fact that while the proportion of agricultural remittance to the landlord remains constant, the proportion of other overhead expenses on production is relatively reduced per unit of land with a larger area under cultivation. Therefore, to increase their surplus profit from larger holdings the tenant-farmers more frequently employ hired labour when the size of family naturally cannot increase at the same rate as the greater possession of land.

The larger holdings of the tenant-farmers is also quite logical to expect since in most cases a person will take to tenant-farming when he depends on agriculture as the primary or the only occupation, while some owner-farmers may have another more important occupation to live on (as was found in some cases) and agriculture is regarded as one of the sources of income when some land is owned by the family. Thus, besides showing the effect of an additional form of exploitation of a section of the peasantry by the land-owners, the table confirms that a proper evaluation of the economic structure is not possible without considering the property and the production relations conjointly.

Considering the economic structure of the society as the combined effect of the possession of land, property relations concerning that possession, and the relations of production based on the land, the economic structure of the two villages can be represented as in Table 9.

The effect of the property and the production relations on the determination of the economic structure has been dealt with. It now remains to be seen how far the landed groupings shown in the table divide the families into significantly different groups. Therefore, to test the efficacy of the landed groupings shown in Table 9, a Chi-square test has been applied to the frequency distributions, to find out whether the distribution of the families according to the three criteria is fortuitous or not. The result is given in Table 10. It should be

TABLE 9. FAMILIES BY TENURE, LABOR RELATIONS, AND LAND LEVEL.

| Land in hectares | Own labour | | | Hired labour | | Total |
|----------------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------------|--------------|---------------|-------|
| | Owner-farmer | Tenant-farmer | Cultivator-farm labourer | Owner-farmer | Tenant-farmer | |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| <i>Brignogan</i> | | | | | | |
| 0- 1 | 26 | 31 | — | — | — | 57 |
| 1- 3 | 43 | 13 | — | — | — | 56 |
| Total | 69 | 44 | — | — | — | 113 |
| <i>Chateauneuf-du-Faou</i> | | | | | | |
| 0- 5 | 32 | 32 | 81 | 4 | 3 | 152 |
| 5-10 | 45 | 54 | 3 | 10 | 5 | 117 |
| 10-15 | 8 | 16 | — | 6 | 14 | 44 |
| 15-35 | 2 | 5 | — | 9 | 26 | 42 |
| Total | 87 | 107 | 84 | 29 | 48 | 355 |

noted that the "cultivator-farm labourer" group could not be taken into account for the Chi-square test, since it is not represented under all possible combinations; however, this will not

affect the present study because the distinctive character of this grouping has already been stressed (see Table 6). The table shows that both in Brignogan and in Chateauneuf-du-Faou the difference in the number of families in individual cells under the three categories could not be due to chance fluctuations.

TABLE 10. CHI-SQUARE TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DATA OF TABLE 9.

| Village | Degrees of freedom | Value of Chi-square | |
|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------|
| | | Computed | at P=.01 |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Brignogan | 1 | 11.5441 | 6.635 |
| Chateauneuf-du-Faou | 9 | 101.2673 | 21.666 |

The importance of such a grouping is shown in Table 11 which gives the percentage of the total number of families under each column for

TABLE 11. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BY TENURE, LABOR RELATIONS AND LAND LEVEL.

| Land in hectares | Own labour | | | Hired labour | | Total |
|----------------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------------|--------------|---------------|-------|
| | Owner-farmer | Tenant-farmer | Cultivator-farm labourer | Owner-farmer | Tenant-farmer | |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| <i>Brignogan</i> | | | | | | |
| 0- 1 | 38 | 70 | — | — | — | 50 |
| 1- 3 | 62 | 30 | — | — | — | 50 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | — | — | — | 100 |
| <i>Chateauneuf-du-Faou</i> | | | | | | |
| 0- 5 | 37 | 30 | 96 | 14 | 6 | 26 |
| 5-10 | 52 | 50 | 34 | 34 | 11 | 42 |
| 10-15 | 9 | 15 | — | 21 | 29 | 16 |
| 15-35 | 2 | 5 | — | 31 | 54 | 16 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

the data shown in Table 9. The reason for the higher proportion of tenant-farmers in the lower land group at Birnogan has already been explained. It has also been stated why a larger proportion of Chateauneuf-du-Faou owner-farmer families employ hired labour in the lower land groups, but in the higher land groups a larger proportion of tenant-farmer families than of owner-farmer families employ hired labour. On the whole, it is now evident that, following its defined properties, the economic structure shown in Table 9 can be regarded as representative and reliable.

It may, however, be argued that, since dairy-farming is another industry in the villages, the relation of people to land may not adequately represent the economic structure of the society. Therefore, as a test of the representative character of the economic structure as enunciated above, it is necessary to study the relation

between the possession of land and the ownership of cows by individual families. Since the cow is the principal means of production for the dairy industry, a high correlation between the possession of cows and land by the villagers should indicate that one can adequately represent the other in the definition of the economic structure. The coefficient of correlation between the possession of land and cow by each family has been found to be 0.8369 for Brignogan and 0.7971 for Chateauneuf-du-Faou. Such a close correlation between land and cow thus confirms the validity of the economic structure as described in the previous pages.

The writers intend to discuss the effect of the economic structure on the size and composition of the family in these two villages in a paper appearing in the next number of this Journal.

An Ecological Approach to Rural Society

By Alvin Boskoff †

ABSTRACT

Since rural sociology has repeatedly employed ecologically-tinged concepts in ordering its particular phenomena, a systematic ecological approach to rural phenomena, based on a critical revaluation of orthodox human ecology, is suggested. This approach involves the consideration of a graduated series of relevant ecological structures within which rural phenomena may be located: rural neighborhood, plantation, rural community, rural region, national society, and world trade community. Finally, a brief discussion of the implications of this approach for rural sociology, ecological theory, and agricultural planning is presented.

Rural society, considered as a whole or in terms of its constituent parts, has been particularly amenable to an ecological approach. Such spatially-charged concepts as "the rural neighborhood," "the rural community," "locality group structure," and "rural migration" have consequently become major focal points in rural sociology, a field in which ecological considerations are at the very least *implicit* in many studies. It is the purpose of this paper to explore these ecological undertones and to propose a preliminary outline of a systematic ecological approach to rural phenomena.

At the outset, however, it seems distinctly relevant to dissociate ourselves as clearly as possible from certain implicit biases and theoretical inhibitions of rural sociology, and at the same time to clear away some of the theoretical *débris* which has stubbornly clung to "orthodox" human ecology for twenty years. Both situations are largely responsible for the lack of a fruitful ecological approach to rural problems.

As far as rural sociology is concerned, there has developed a defensive, empiricist frame of reference derived from an enforced concern with the more local, immediate rural problems (neighborhood and community organization, specific institutional problems, local population movements, land tenure problems). This "practical" emphasis has tended to isolate rural problems from the larger social context in which they actually appear. As a result, rural phenomena have been unduly polarized in a theoretical distortion of the increasingly apparent rural-urban continuum.¹

A relatively more serious deterrent to an ecological approach lies in the analogical theory and inadequate concepts of "orthodox" human ecology. It is first manifested in such definitions of human ecology as the study of "relationships of *symbiosis*, or the

¹ Exceptions to this trend can be found in J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (2nd ed.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1940); Paul H. Landis, *Rural Life in Process* (2nd ed.; McGraw-Hill Co., 1948); Carl C. Taylor, *Rural Sociology* (Rev. ed.; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1933).

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factors involved in living together, independent of communication,"² "those impersonal, subsocial aspects of communal structure—both spatial and functional — which arise and change as the result of interaction between men through the medium of limited supplies of the environment."³

This orientation involves certain theoretical and conceptual difficulties which must be clarified and resolved before human ecology can win a merited position in the social sciences. A revisionist position seems to demand five major changes. First, "ecological interaction" must be modified to remove the tenacious remnants of a mystic subsocial spatial determinism carelessly torn from the context of social behavior. The false association between "the impersonal" and "the subsocial," for example, disregards a whole wealth of competent sociological investigation on secondary groups, bureaucracy, and rationalization.⁴

Second, the concept of a pervasive, primordial competition in the deter-

mination of position must face the reality of socially structured spatial distribution.⁵

Third, human ecology must surrender the *laissez faire* bias which views society as a natural unit "whose ties are those of a free and natural economy based on division of labor."⁶ It should look more closely at the cultural differentiation of power and its effects on the spatial distribution of groups and functions.

Fourth, the orthodox ecological approach tends to evade the rigors of explicit theorizing with the result that stray, unanalyzed fragments (competition, the subsocial, the struggle for existence) are employed to fill the explanatory gap. Consequently, orthodox ecology has remained largely descriptive, despite attempts to reach the analytical level through the study of ecological processes. Dominance, concentration, centralization, invasion, succession, and segregation are largely descriptive terms whose ultimate explanation for the ecologist has continually been some variant of "competition," the basic datum of that orthodox ecology.

Fifth, human ecology seems to have concentrated its study on relatively circumscribed ecological areas (the community, the natural area, the neighborhood) and has generally neglected analysis of (1) such larger areas as the frontier, the region, and the national society and (2) of the relations between different types of

² See Milla A. Alihan, *Social Ecology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), p. 11. (Italics mine).

³ James A. Quinn, "The Nature of Human Ecology—Reexamination and Redefinition," *Social Forces*, XVIII (December, 1939), 167; also Quinn, "Ecological versus Social Interaction," *Sociology and Social Research*, (July-August, 1934), 567-568. (Italics mine).

⁴ See the work of Parsons, Max Weber, and Merton. An interesting variation on this concept of the impersonal is provided by Mukerjee, who defines ecological reaction as a feature of social organization virtually synonymous with *Gesellschaft* relations. See his "Ecological and Cultural Patterns of Social Organization," *American Sociological Review*, VIII (December, 1943), 643.

⁵ See Walter Firey, *Land Use in Central Boston* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), *passim*.

⁶ Alihan, *op. cit.*, p. 15. (Italics mine).

ecological structures. This isolation of ecological units may have been advisable in the early growth of ecology, but it can no longer be justified.

Perhaps the major difficulty of human ecology is its ambivalent position in sociology. It is, of course, a borderline discipline, with obviously competing orientations. At present, its phenomena form a kind of residual category: the socially undirected distribution of populations and functions. But if "human ecology stands or falls upon its ability to simplify and clarify the impersonal subsocial aspects of communities and regions," as Quinn asserts, then the only conclusion to be drawn is that it has already fallen. For in seeking a distinctive set of phenomena, orthodox human ecology has not only seceded from modern sociology—it has largely withdrawn from science.

But there is a sense in which the ecological approach remains valid, despite the inadequacies of its early theory and concepts. Human ecology (or social ecology or cultural ecology—or, it is suggested, sociological ecology) can become a useful adjunct to general sociology if the preceding cautions are heeded. It can provide a needed spatial frame of reference for sociology to aid in the *location* of the social phenomena with which it is concerned.

Obviously, this newer perspective involves a redefinition of the scope and theoretical framework of ecology. *Sociological ecology* can be defined as the description, analysis, and explanation of the spatial and temporal

adjustment of social organizations (groups and functions) through social behavior and relationships in pursuit of cultural values.⁷ The concept of *ecological adjustment*, which is prominent in Mukerjee's ecological writings, logically belongs in this framework, though this concept still requires a good deal of clarification. Two major considerations enter at this point: (1) the criteria of adjustment or adequacy in any given ecological structure; (2) the *context* or level of ecological adjustment. The latter consideration is particularly important since it points to the need for assessing the relations between ecological structures.

However, it is not the intent of this paper to present a detailed theoretical structure of the modern ecological approach in sociology. The remainder of this paper will be devoted to a brief analysis of a series of ecological structures through which we can understand the status of our rural population. We shall, therefore, discuss the following structures: the rural neighborhood, the plantation, the rural community, the rural region, the national society, and finally, the world trade community. And

⁷ For earlier forms of this perspective see: R. D. McKenzie, "Ecology, Human," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan, 1930), V, 314; Amos Hawley, "Ecology and Human Ecology," *Social Forces*, XXII, (May, 1944), p. 403; Warner Gettys, "Human Ecology and Social Theory," *Social Forces*, XVIII, (May, 1940), 475; E. T. Hiller, "Extension of Urban Characteristics into Rural Areas," *Rural Sociology*, VI, (September, 1941), 242; Charles R. Hoffer, "The Changing Ecological Pattern in Rural Life," *Rural Sociology*, XIII, (June, 1948), 176.

in conclusion, we shall try to clarify the implications of this approach for rural sociology, ecological theory, and planning.

Ecological Frameworks of 'Rural' Society

The simplest ecological unit in rural society is, for our purposes, the rural neighborhood, which is perhaps best defined as "the primary area of neighboring for a group of relatively homogeneous families."⁸ Structurally, the rural neighborhood is generally based on proximity of farm families; but it is important to note that proximity coupled with some organizing function or institution are the twin bases of the neighborhood. Informal relations, such as work-exchange and inter-family visiting, have been integrating factors in neighborhood life, though they have lost much of their original strength. However, the cross-roads school, the church, the retail store, nationality groupings, social clubs, agricultural extension projects, etc., still exert a cohesive influence in locality groups.

The ecological character of the rural neighborhood is a product of a long cultural tradition which is especially reflected in rural attitudes toward land division, farm size, and in the character of land tenure. Land division has been predominantly in the checkerboard pattern: in the traditional mile-square sections which trace back to 1787. Since farmsteads

have generally been located near the center of these squares—farm management considerations being paramount—this type of land division minimizes proximity of farm families and therefore has tended to be a deterrent to the emergence and persistence of rural neighborhoods. Yet the rural neighborhood, with regional variations, was for a long time a reality in rural social organization—a fact which underscores the role of localized institutions in developing neighborhoods. Now there is some evidence of the emergence of a new settlement pattern among farmers in the irrigated areas of Washington and Oregon. Farmers in that area have indicated a preference for "corner communities" (actually neighborhoods), or rectangular farm holdings with farmsteads located on common service roads.⁹

We may point to a process of ecological adjustments achieved by the rural neighborhood in two ways. First, in areas which have developed one or more villages or towns as efficient service centers, in addition to all-weather roads and transportation facilities, the rural neighborhood has lost a great deal of its autonomy and has become submerged in an emergent rural community. Second, in areas in which rural neighborhoods are located at appreciable distances from village or town centers and from major transportation routes; in which these neighborhoods have developed

⁸ Allen D. Edwards, "Ecological Patterns of American Rural Communities," *Rural Sociology*, XII (June, 1947), 153

⁹ Walter R. Goldschmidt, "Some Evidence on the Future Pattern of Rural Settlement," *Rural Sociology*, VIII (December, 1943), 390, 395.

and maintained one or more satisfactory institutional functions (school, church, retail store); the rural neighborhood has tended to persist. On the one hand, it has yielded to a larger ecological structure; on the other, it has preserved a measure of ecological immunity.¹⁰

It is rather difficult to determine an appropriate position in our series of ecological structures for the plantation, which is significant as a regional survival. The larger plantations may be said to constitute a particular form of "rural community," while smaller plantations may be likened to rural neighborhoods in that they are units of a more inclusive rural community. Despite this ambiguity of ecological classification, however, the plantation is fairly definite in structure and functional organization.

There is some difficulty as well in defining "plantation" distinctively. We shall refer to the plantation as the private organization of the cultivation of large tracts of land for the production of staple commodities intended for the world market, the labor being supplied by five or more tenant families.¹¹ With this delimitation accepted, we find that plantations develop nucleated structures, with the landlord's home centrally located and with the tenants' shacks situated along a planned network of

roads. The land is characteristically apportioned into use categories: woodland, wasteland, pasture, cropland (the landlord's personal cropland being located near the center of the plantation), and idle land, which can be brought into cultivation in accordance with price prospects. Two final elements in the plantation structure are the quarters for wage hands, situated for convenience near the landlord's home, and in some cases an embryonic community center in the form of a school and a church in a distant corner of the plantation.¹²

A more complex ecological structure in the series under consideration is the rural community—also called the rural community and the village-centered community. This has tended to be the focal structure of rural sociology, though it is, strictly speaking, not wholly a rural structure.¹³ It may be defined as a configuration of rural neighborhood and sub-neighborhood units about one or more villages or towns whose service functions integrate the residents into a recognizable structural entity.

Rural communities, it must be recognized, are no longer the simple structures which Galpin delineated in his pioneer work over thirty years ago. They tend to be poly-nucleated or multiple-village-centered structures which involve a discernible division of labor among component service centers. Thus Hoffer has distinguished three types of trade cen-

¹⁰ Ecological immunity may be defined as the tenacity of a given ecological structure in the face of encroachment by larger ecological structures.

¹¹ T. J. Woofert, Jr., *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation* (Washington, D. C.: Works Progress Administration, 1936), pp. 25, 157.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. xxxii.

¹³ "Rural" is here used as one end of the rural-urban continuum. It involves the distinctive features of isolation, decentralization, and farm residence.

ters in the rurban community: (1) the primary center—the nearest trade center, usually a hamlet with a grocery store and filling-station; (2) the intermediate center of about 1,000 population, containing some specialty stores; (3) the terminal trade center—which has all the trade and service facilities a family is likely to need.¹⁴

The key element in the rurban community is, of course, the population center—village or town. Perhaps the primary function of the village is its role as a commercial intermediary between the farm and the factory. In addition, the village—and more particularly, the town—provides educational, professional, and social services for the farm population. The vitality of the village, manifested by the variety of functions performed and the area of effective influence, is largely dependent on population size, regional location, agricultural organization, transportation, and relative proximity to larger centers.

It is important to conceive of the rurban community as an *emergent*, as a yet barely recognizable *structuring* of social and commercial relationships in the process of articulation around differentially specialized focal centers. However, what it lacks in sharpness of delimitation is compensated by a wider variety of services and social contacts than the rural neighborhood can afford. Moreover, the rurban community constitutes the first stage of ecological contact between the farm resident and urban

values in a social order which is becoming increasingly dominated by an octopal urbanism.

The rurban community and the rural neighborhood (where it exists) may be considered basic units in the rurban region, which is at present largely a figment of the ecological imagination. Region as a general concept has been difficult to locate unambiguously because it has been utilized by a number of disparate frames of reference: physiographic, botanical, climatic, economic, political and administrative, cultural, etc. It is, however, strange to discover that a concept possessing such rich ecological implications has failed to receive serious, systematic ecological definition and interpretation.

For our purposes, it is perhaps best to define the rurban region as a configuration of roughly contiguous rurban communities possessing *similar* and *complementary* spatio-functional adjustment characteristics.¹⁵ But are these component communities merely *comparable segments* artificially encompassed by a concept, or do they contain some degree of organic interrelationship—either directly, or with reference to some organizing center? Because of the novelty of this approach to the region—and the consequent paucity of relevant data—there is enormous room

¹⁵ "Similar" and "complementary" are used to differentiate *sub-region* and *region*. Similar communities may be said to constitute sub-regions, while sub-regions may be said to exhibit complementary relations in the formation and maintenance of regions. This view, of course, anticipates the demonstration of organic relations between groups of contiguous communities.

¹⁴ Hoffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-178.

for speculation at this point. However, a choice between these alternative conceptions would seem to be an *empirical problem* demanding an extensive program of inter-community studies conceived in the frame of reference suggested by this paper.

Should further empirical work fail to establish an organic unity among comparable communities (as defined above), we should be forced to recognize the sprawling concept "region," from the ecological standpoint, simply as a verbal convenience corresponding to no objectively ascertainable entity. On the other hand, if we can discover a functional inter-relationship among a number of contiguous communities, we shall have constructed a firm basis for the retention and use of a meaningful regional conception.

Delimitation of rurban regions, assuming the validity of our ecological approach to regions, presents rather imposing difficulties. The smallest unit thus far employed in devising a rurban regional classification is the county,¹⁶ which is not an ecologically defined unit. A proper regional (and sub-regional) analysis would require the demarcation of rurban communities throughout the nation and their segregation according to appropriate regional and sub-regional correlates. Such an undertaking assumes enormous proportions, but it does not seem beyond the competence of the State Colleges of Agriculture and the U. S.

Department of Agriculture, assuming that adequate funds were appropriated by the Congress.

What could be considered to be appropriate regional correlates? Obviously, they would involve indices which perform one or both of two functions: (1) determination of comparable communities and (2) determination of the functional organization of these communities. Consequently, the factors of ecological significance in determining rurban regions and sub-regions might reasonably include the following, many of which were used by Mangus in his *Rural Regions of the United States*:

1. Type of agriculture and land use.
2. Extent and amount of part-time farming.
3. Level of living (including electricity, telephone, auto).
4. Rate of natural increase.
5. Proportion of immigrant residents.
6. Migration trends.
7. Tenancy.
8. Race.
9. Religion.
10. Per cent of farm produce consumed on farms.
11. Proportion of specific services obtained from presumed regional centers.

Regional indices, however, fail to supply an adequate picture of the differentiation of regions in general, of rurban regions in particular. A clue to this process probably lies in the fact of discernible agricultural specialization which, as McKenzie

¹⁶ See A. R. Mangus, *Rural Regions of the United States*, WPA (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1940), *passim*.

suggests,¹⁷ is made possible by the extension of the market through communication and transportation developments. Rurban regions and sub-regions may then be said to be differentiated according to the type and degree of specialization for domestic and foreign markets.

Thus far, we have considered ecological frameworks with respect to the rural population in terms of a graduated ecological progression: rural neighborhood, plantation, rurban community, rurban region. Yet these by no means exhaust the significant ecological spheres within which agriculture and the rural population may be said to operate. We shall therefore turn briefly to the national society and the world trade community as two broad but highly important ecological contexts.

The national society is not merely a conceptualization of a simple rural-urban distribution. It involves a highly complex interplay of functions between and among rurban and metropolitan regions within the confines of a national political and economic order. It may therefore be defined ecologically as a configuration of rurban regions and sub-regions about one or more metropolitan regions, characterized by a highly developed division of social labor.

The basic structural element in the national society is not primarily the actual location of constituent units, but rather the *balance* which derives from the relative distribution of

population and functions. The nature of this balance is ecologically of the highest importance, since it is reflected in the functional inter-relationships of component ecological units. Therefore, let us consider the manner in which this interrelationship operates.

Rurban and metropolitan regions have developed through a reciprocal interchange of complementary functions, without which an organized social order could not endure. The former supply surplus food and fiber which make possible large aggregations of groups devoted to the fulfillment of non-agricultural functions. More important, they furnish surplus population to replenish the metropolitan regions, which are characterized by low capacity for self-replacement. In addition, rurban regions offer during normal times a huge market for non-agricultural goods and services. Finally, rurban regions may be said to contribute a dubious stability in the form of traditional attitudes toward political organization and objectives, domestic economy, and international relations.

On the other hand, metropolitan regions, which are literally dependent on rurban regions, are not passive recipients of rurban contributions. Mechanization, improved transportation, and technical methods in agriculture are metropolitan legacies to more efficient food production, thus forming a solid link in the circle of progressive urbanization. At the same time, metropolitan regions perform two immensely important func-

¹⁷ "The Concept of Dominance and World Organization," *American Journal of Sociology* (July, 1927), 35.

tions. As centers of occupational and social opportunities, they provide outlets for rural surplus population. Furthermore, by reason of their strategic position with respect to communication, transportation, finance and commerce, metropolitan regions provide a rationalized organization of the domestic economy and serve as intermediaries between rural regions and foreign markets.

Ecologically speaking, the national society has been undergoing a structural change—in degree, and probably in kind. This change is the familiar process of extensive, increasing urbanization. It is mirrored in the altered position of agriculture and in the vast urbanward migration streams since World War I. However, the explanation for this change is to be found in several ecological contexts. For one thing, foreign demand for agricultural products dissolved in the fear-ridden quest for self-sufficiency on the part of European nations (the world trade community). At the same time, effective demand was reduced by increased tariffs, a decreasing rate of population increase, and changing food habits (metropolitan regions). Finally, rural regions maintained or increased production for a vanishing market.

The importance of migration, urbanization, and metropolitan dominance lies in the enormously increased interdependence between rural and metropolitan regions. While metropolitan dominance is one aspect of the urbanization process, there is a

concomitant dependence on rural regions for food and population, a dependence which grows more critical as the farm population declines. On the other hand, increasing urbanization serves to bind rural regions more closely to the exchange economy of metropolitan regions, creating thereby an increasing dependence on the development of secondary and tertiary industries in metropolitan regions.¹⁸

For our purposes, the ultimate ecological framework within which rural phenomena can be studied and made meaningful is the world trade community. Of all the frameworks thus far considered this is perhaps most clearly structured on an economic basis. Yet it would be a flagrant error to neglect the operation of political, military, and cultural factors in its formation and development. Within the world trade community, we can distinguish the *agricultural trade community*, which may be defined as the pattern of nations which are actual or potential consumers of the products of rural regions within a given national society.¹⁹ As far as the rural regions of the United States are concerned, the relevant agricultural trade community encompasses the nations of the Americas, Scandinavia, Great Britain, Western and North

¹⁸ Theodore W. Schultz, *Agriculture in an Unstable Economy* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1945), 113.

¹⁹ An alternative definition might include competitive rural regions.

Central Europe, Eastern Europe, and the Far East.²⁰

Conclusions and Implications

The ecological approach which has been sketched in preceding pages is obviously not a radical re-orientation either in general statement or specific concepts. It is rather an attempt to (1) extract and in part to systematize theoretically valid elements from our ecological heritage and (2) apply this product toward a more coherent understanding of rural phenomena. Yet this reorganized approach seems to possess crucial implications for the future of rural sociology, ecology, and agricultural-rural planning.

Perhaps the primary significance of this orientation for rural sociology is the much needed emphasis on a rural-urban continuum, involving as well the consideration of a progression of roughly concentric ecological spheres in which the distinctions between rural and urban become increasingly blurred. It points to the necessity for studying the farm population in terms of the widening range of social processes which affect its position in American society. More specifically, this approach reveals the futility of the current concentration on "the community" as the basic focus of rural sociological investigation. And finally, it provides an ex-

plicit frame of reference for the gathering of further data which can bring order to the relatively chaotic theoretical condition of rural sociology.

As far as ecology itself is concerned, the position presented in this paper removes ecology from its marginal status in social science—which derives from its inclusion of the sub-social, the symbiotic, and unconscious competition in its conceptual scheme. Instead, ecology is viewed as an auxiliary approach in sociology, whose function is to provide a needed spatial dimension in the study of social phenomena. Furthermore, this sociological ecology strongly suggests the necessity of examining social phenomena in terms of all relevant ecological contexts for a proper understanding of their current significance and for a knowledge of the consequences of intervening factors (planning, unforeseen developments).

The idea of adjustment has for a long time been implicit in human ecology. But in general, this conception has been characterized by two failings: the highly subjective, almost mystical nature of the process; the tendency to neglect inter-contextual relationships. Our approach brings the concept of ecological adjustment out of the theoretical interstices of ecology and places it on the agenda for further research. Ecological adjustment is not yet a well-defined concept; provisionally, we might refer to it as the process by which groups and institutions develop and maintain a harmonious set of interrelations

²⁰ These nations bought 99.9% of exported cotton in 1938 and 95.9% of exported foodstuffs. See the table in *The Economic Almanac for 1949* (New York: National Industrial Conference Board, 1948), 429; *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1942), 807.

within a given ecological structure. What we especially need in this area is a clarification of "harmonious interrelations," or rather, objective criteria of adjustment for specific ecological contexts. And finally, urged by the pressures of social problems and the need for planning, we need to know the criteria for adjustment to broader and increasingly significant ecological structures.

A third area for which this ecological frame of reference has substantial relevance is the field of planning—and specifically, agricultural planning. Now, the idea that agricultural planning requires national and international planning is not yet a truism in American thinking. However, the perspective supplied by our ecological approach will permit no other conclusion. As a result of our analysis of pertinent ecological structures, an ecological definition of agricultural planning is more meaningful and considerably more organized than popular and professional apprehensions of that process. We may define agricultural planning, then, as

a series of interrelated programs whose ultimate aim is to aid the rural population in adjusting to changes in the several ecological spheres which affect its welfare.

Once we have demonstrated the co-existence of a number of ecological spheres with reference to the farm population, it seems reasonable to attack specific rural problems within the framework of *appropriate* ecological structures. An unfortunate preconception of many rural sociologists and interested government agencies is to consider the rural community as the only appropriate ecological context for rural problems. Now, it is certainly true that given problem can be studied and described on several ecological levels. Yet, from the standpoint of the planner, it is obviously necessary to select for each problem the *strategic* ecological level, the level at which causal factors can be fully comprehended and diverted from problem-inspiring consequences. This approach to rural problems will, however, be reserved for a later article.

Testing Criteria of Rural Locality Groups

By Selz C. Mayo †

ABSTRACT

This paper is an analysis of one hundred and one rural locality groups delineated for Wake County, North Carolina, during the summer of 1948. There is a high correlation between the quantitative indexes of four aspects of group life. There is a low correlation between the quantitative indexes and *group identification* as measured in this study. All four of the indexes have low predictive value of the strength of *group identification*. However, the index of the number of kinds of institutions and organizations appears to be more highly associated with *group identification* than the other indexes used in the study.

In this paper the term locality group is used to designate (1) a specific and determinable geographic area and (2) a set of relationships among the people in the area that sets them apart from other peoples in other definable areas. These relationships within the area are more or less permanent and as the people may be considered as a whole, the concept of locality group becomes a social entity.

Recently the concepts of locality and group have been defined as, "... those which can be identified with specific geographical areas and whose members have a sense of belonging together. Usually there is a focal point with one or more services, but there are some locality groups without such focal points, although the members have a sense of belonging together and live in an area that may be identified. This definition assigns two characteristics to locality groups: (1) common services at a center, and (2) group identification."¹

The locality groups as defined in the paragraphs above and as delineated for this study are designated as neither neighborhoods nor communities. The dichotomous connotation of the neighborhood and community concepts has brought forth no little confusion. Practically all writers in the field have accepted the elements of geography and group as the criteria of both.² No less confusing are the attempts to distinguish between neighborhoods and communities.

By using the term locality group it is possible to avoid at least part of this confusion. The confusion is avoided to the extent that definite criteria are used to establish the group in the first place and in the second place, criteria that will indi-

County, Minnesota, Minnesota AESB 401 (St. Paul, February, 1949), p. 10.

²A few examples: Carle C. Zimmerman, *The Changing Community* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938), p. 15. Carl C. Taylor, *Rural Sociology* (Rev. Ed.; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1933), p. 550. Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization* (New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 1942), p. 239. Douglas Ensminger, "Rural Neighborhoods and Communities," Chapter 4 in Carl C. Taylor, et. al., *Rural Life in the United States* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 57.

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¹ Frank D. Alexander and Lowry Nelson, *Rural Social Organization in Goodhue*

cate the strength of the group itself. Finally, the criteria must be amenable to establishing the interrelationship between the various services in the locality and the relationship between these services and the strength of the locality group as measured by the degree of group identification or group consciousness.

Purpose

The specific purposes of this article are as follows: (1) To show the distribution of locality groups in a specific county by certain indexes considered by rural sociologists as characteristic of community life in rural areas. (2) To show the relationship between four quantitative indexes of rural locality groups. (3) To demonstrate the feasibility of short-cuts in the methodology of obtaining data for three of the indexes. (4) To show the relationship between the four quantitative indexes and certain quantified measures of group identification.

Methodology

Locality groups may be described, if not measured, by a set of characteristics or tangible indexes centering around: (1) transportation and communication services; (2) professional services; (3) commercial services; (4) institutions and organizations; and (5) conscious and acknowledged primary informal relationships and mutual aid practices. Certain aspects of the first four of these may be readily observed and reduced to quantitative terms. The latter is a subjective element and may be reduced to quantitative terms at

the present time only in an arbitrary manner.

One hundred and two locality groups were delineated either totally or partially in Wake County, North Carolina. One of these consists of the City of Raleigh (county seat and State Capital with a population of about 65,000) and the territory outside, not otherwise assigned to a specific locality group. The one hundred and one groups in rural areas (United States Census terminology) of the county are used as the basis of this analysis. (No analysis is made in this article of either the techniques used in the delineation or of the delineated areas themselves. Suffice to say, that definite techniques were employed by the field men and the results have been partially substantiated by other techniques and for other purposes.)

Transportation and Communication Services Index. The transportation and communication services and facilities available to rural people are an essential part of everyday living. Data were obtained for each locality group relative to the transportation and communication services available to the people in that area. For each area data were obtained on the following items: (1) all weather roads; (2) telephone service; (3) telegraph service; (4) intercommunity bus service (station or local pick-up); (5) railroad service (passenger and/or freight); (6) post office; (7) newspaper published in the area; and (8) cab or taxi service.

The following is the distribution of the 101 rural locality groups by the

number of transportation and communication services in each:

| Number of transportation and communication services | Number of groups |
|---|------------------|
| 0 | 12 |
| 1 | 14 |
| 2 | 20 |
| 3 | 31 |
| 4-5 | 11 |
| 6-7 | 7 |
| 8-9 | 4 |
| 10 | 2 |

Professional Services Index. Six types of professions were selected as representative of the services used by rural people in this field. For each locality group the number of professional services and of professional persons was determined for the following kinds of services:

(1) law, (2) medicine, (3) dentistry, (4) nursing, (5) veterinary medicine, and (6) religion. Ministers were included in the index on the basis of place of residence rather than place of practice.

The following is a distribution of the 101 locality groups by the number of *kinds* of professional services in each locality group:

| Number of professional services | Number of groups |
|---------------------------------|------------------|
| 0 | 62 |
| 1 | 26 |
| 2 | 5 |
| 3 | 0 |
| 4 | 3 |
| 5 | 4 |
| 6 | 1 |

The following is a distribution of rural locality groups by the number of professional people in each:

| Number of professional persons | Number of groups |
|--------------------------------|------------------|
| 0 | 62 |
| 1 | 21 |
| 2-4 | 9 |
| 5-7 | 2 |
| 8 or more | 7 |

Commercial Services Index. For each locality group a complete enumeration was made of the general and specific commercial services. For example, the number of banks, service stations, department stores, shoe repair shops, tourist homes, grocery stores, etc., was ascertained for each area. The following is a distribution of the 101 rural locality groups by the number of *kinds* of commercial services.

| Number of kinds of commercial services | Number of groups |
|--|------------------|
| 0 | 8 |
| 1 | 28 |
| 2 | 24 |
| 3-4 | 14 |
| 5-9 | 17 |
| 10-14 | 2 |
| 15 and over | 8 |

The following is a distribution of rural locality groups by the number of commercial services in each:

| Number of commercial services | Number of groups |
|-------------------------------|------------------|
| 0 | 8 |
| 1 | 11 |
| 2 | 19 |
| 3-4 | 19 |
| 5-6 | 11 |
| 7-9 | 13 |
| 10-19 | 11 |
| 25 and over | 9 |

Institution and Organization Index. The fourth segment of the analysis relates to institutions and organizations. Every effort was made to obtain a listing of all formal and semiformal organizations in each locality group. Organizations, institutions, and agencies were listed separately by color of membership, but for this analysis they have been combined into a single index. The following is a distribution of rural local-

ity groups by the number of kinds of institutions and organizations:

| Number of kinds of organizations and institutions | Number of groups |
|---|------------------|
| 0 | 13 |
| 1 | 29 |
| 2 | 22 |
| 3 | 12 |
| 4-5 | 15 |
| 6-7 | 3 |
| 8-9 | 3 |
| 10 and over | 4 |

In the above analysis the church is listed as a single *kind* of institution regardless of the number of subsidiary organizations attached to it. The school is also listed as a single kind of institution even though there may be a consolidated high-school and a consolidated grammar school. In other words, all the organizations have been grouped according to type.

The following is a distribution of rural locality groups by the number of institutions and organizations in each:

| Number of institutions and organizations | Number of groups |
|--|------------------|
| 0 | 13 |
| 1-3 | 14 |
| 4-6 | 18 |
| 7-9 | 25 |
| 10-14 | 11 |
| 15-19 | 6 |
| 20-29 | 4 |
| 30-49 | 6 |
| 50 and over | 4 |

In the above analysis, the church and each of its subsidiary units were listed as single organizations. The school and all the organizations connected with it were listed as individual organizations.

Group Identification Index. Of crucial importance to this analysis is the numerical rating of the locality groups with respect to identification or consciousness. At the time of the

delineation of the locality groups, the field men kept a log and rated each area on the basis of level of group identification or group consciousness. The rating was subjective in the sense that the field man had to weight the various factors used without the benefit of a numerical scale. The final rating was a composite of the thinking of the two or three field men on the spot. Each of the locality groups were finally given a rating of high, medium, and low on the basis of observations of the field men. These ratings have been translated into three, two, and one weights respectively.

This specific phase of the methodology is not new in rural sociological literature. In 1925 Morgan and Howells used a five point scale to indicate the intensity of group consciousness—high, medium plus, medium, low, and low minus. The authors made the following statement with reference to the scale:

Of necessity, this classification is arbitrary and subjective, representing an evaluation of the strength of association in a comparative way. Objective standards were aimed at, in the frequency with which the group came together for any purposes, the readiness with which the group name was accepted and recognized by those living within and without the area and by the frequency with which activities occurred that demanded a conscious recognition of group organization.³

³ E. L. Morgan and Owen Howells, *Rural Population Groups*, Missouri AESB 74 (Columbia, March, 1925), p. 16.

Alexander and Nelson used a three point scale in their analysis—high, medium and low group identification. According to these authors "... group identification was considered as the residue of what has been commonly referred to in sociological literature as primary-group activities."⁴ In order to have a specific basis for rating the locality groups, these authors set up an ideal type and assigned to it the following behavior characteristics:

... (1) Visiting by families and by individuals, (2) Mutual aid—(a) in emergencies, i.e., sickness, death; (b) in production, i.e., exchange of work and tools; (c) in borrowing and lending, i.e., food, money, (3) Spontaneous play and recreation—children's games, picnics, hunting, fishing, (4) Exchange of personal confidences, relating intimate personal feelings and experiences, and (5) Repetition of group and personal experiences—stories about the group and its personalities. Each locality was examined to ascertain activities and experiences that might have any aspects of the above kinds of behavior. A list of these was made and studied to judge the primary group attitudes and understandings that might be expected to result from these activities and experiences, and which could then be rated as giving a sense of belonging together or of group identification. This meant further positing of what the ideal primary group would have in the way of attitudes and common understand-

ing. The basic ones considered were: (1) total personality of each individual fully known, (2) feelings of intimacy and sentimental attachments. Of course, this qualitative analysis was combined with a general judgment of the sense of belonging which the researcher had noted in his role of observer while in the county.⁵

The following is a distribution of rural locality groups in Wake County by the index (three point scale) of group identification:

| Index | Number of groups |
|------------|------------------|
| 1 (Low) | 48 |
| 2 (Medium) | 31 |
| 3 (High) | 22 |

A second criteria of group identification is provided by *awareness* of neighborhood names by parents of school children. In one phase of the survey of Wake County, a simple card was distributed to each rural family that had one or more children in school.⁶ One of the questions on the card was as follows: What is the name of your local neighborhood? (the name by which the local area is known, for example, Smith's Creek, Six Forks, etc., not necessarily the name of the school district, township, or town.) Each school-household was then spotted on a large county map. The map with the locality group boundaries on it, as determined by the field men, was then superimposed on the school data map. The percentage of families who lived in

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Selz C. Mayo, "Restudy of Wake County, North Carolina," *Rural Sociology*, XIII (December, 1948), 420.

⁴ Alexander and Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

and who gave the same *name* as was determined by the field men has been included as a separate index. Consideration was given only to those families that lived within the locality group and claimed that name. No consideration was given to the families who lived outside of the locality group but claimed that particular locality name. It was anticipated that this would be highly associated with the other index of group identification, even though, supposedly, only the factor of name had been included.

The following is a distribution of rural locality groups by the percentage of families living in the specified area and giving the same locality name:

| Percent of families | Number of groups |
|---------------------|------------------|
| Under 20 | 27 |
| 20-39.9 | 23 |
| 40-59.9 | 23 |
| 60-79.9 | 17 |
| 80-99.9 | 10 |
| 100 | 1 |

In the preceding discussion an attempt has been made to point up the indexes used in this study. The specific items used in each index as well as the way in which each was adopted for field enumeration have been itemized. Finally, a distribution of rural locality groups in Wake County by each index has been presented. Such detailing was necessary, first, in terms of the specific purposes of this paper. Second, it was necessary for other workers who may be doing (there are several throughout the country) similar types of analyses.

Relationship Between the Indexes

Attention is now directed to the intercorrelations between the indexes as described above (see Table 1). First, observe the high positive coefficient of correlation between the various quantitative indexes (variables one through four). More than half of the total variance of any one of

TABLE 1. INTERCORRELATIONS OF SIX INDEXES OF RURAL LOCALITY GROUPS, WAKE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, 1948.

| Index | X ₁ | X ₂ | X ₃ | X ₄ | X ₅ | X ₆ |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| X ₁ | | | | | | |
| X ₂ | .7434 | | | | | |
| X ₃ | .8005 | .8894 | | | | |
| X ₄ | .7285 | .7688 | .8225 | | | |
| X ₅ | .4296 | .3870 | .4794 | .5549 | | |
| X ₆ | .1968 | .1305 | .1152 | .1860 | .3293 | |

X₁=Number of transportation and communication services

X₂=Number of kinds of professional services

X₃=Number of kinds of commercial services

X₄=Number of kinds of institutional and organizational services

X₅=Group identification

X₆=Percentage of families living within and claiming the locality name

A total correlation coefficient of .1946 is significantly different from zero at the .05 level of significance for 100 pairs of values. A total correlation coefficient of .2540 is significantly different from zero at the .01 level of significance for 100 pairs of values. Thomas C. McCormick, *Elementary Social Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1941), p. 306.

these variables is associated with the variance of any other one. Secondly, observe the relatively low coefficients of correlation between the two measures of group identification (X_5 and X_6) and the quantitative variables. Even though these coefficients of correlation are significantly different from zero (at the one per cent level of significance) the total amount of variance explained is relatively low.

Multiple correlation analysis confirms the findings based on simple correlation as presented in Tables 1 and 2. For example, less than 30 per cent of the variance of the enumerators' evaluations of group consciousness (X_5) is associated with the multiple variance of the four quantitative variables. ($R^2_{5 \cdot 1234} = .2988$ and $R^2_{5 \cdot 1'2'3'4'} = .2510$.)⁷ These R_2 are significant although low.

⁷ For formula for R^2 see Mordecai Ezekiel, *Methods of Correlation Analysis* (Second Edition; New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1941), p. 211.

The coefficient of multiple correlation between "name awareness," variable 6, and the four quantitative variables is both low and insignificant. $R^2_{6 \cdot 1234} = .0214$ and $R^2_{6 \cdot 1'2'3'4'} = .0323$.

Summary and Conclusions

1. Groups exist in rural Wake county that can be delineated in terms of a geographic base. Their strength as measured by the intensity of the consciousness for other members of the group varies from one locality to another.

2. The data show that it makes relatively little difference whether one uses the number of types or kinds of services or the total number of these services. For the three indexes of commercial services, professional services, and institutions, organizations, the number of types or kinds will give as good a picture (as related to each other and to the other indexes) as will a complete count of

TABLE 2. INTERCORRELATIONS OF SIX INDEXES OF RURAL LOCALITY GROUPS, WAKE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, 1948

| Index | X_1 | X_2' | X_3' | X_4' | X_5 | X_6 |
|--------|-------|--------|--------|--------|-------|-------|
| X_1 | | | | | | |
| X_2' | .7159 | | | | | |
| X_3' | .7624 | .9404 | | | | |
| X_4' | .7817 | .8614 | .8909 | | | |
| X_5 | .4296 | .3940 | .4458 | .5153 | | |
| X_6 | .1968 | .0478 | .0818 | .1494 | .3293 | |

X_1 =Number of transportation and communication services

X_2' =Number of professional people

X_3' =Number of commercial services

X_4' =Number of institutions and organizations

X_5 =Group identification

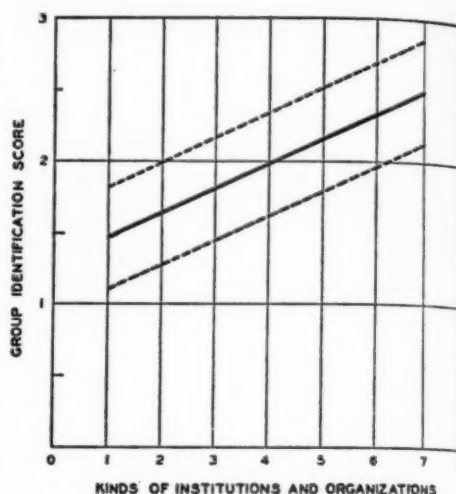
X_6 =Percentage of families living within and claiming the locality name

A total correlation coefficient of .1946 is significantly different from zero at the .05 level of significance for 100 pairs of values. A total correlation coefficient of .2540 is significantly different from zero at the .01 level of significance for 100 pairs of values. Thomas C. McCormick, *Elementary Social Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1941), p. 306.

the number of commercial services, the number of professional people, and the number of specific institutions and subsidiary organization. This point is further substantiated by the fact that the correlation between X_2 and X_2' is .9020. The correlation between X_3 and X_3' is .9824 and between X_4 and X_4' is .9340. If this point is substantiated by other studies, then this represents a real short cut in methodology and considerable time and effort can be saved in community studies.

3. The mere fact that a family does or does not give the name of their locality group appears to be of little importance in this type of analysis. It may, however, have some significance for other purposes.

4. The quantitative indexes used in this study have relatively low predictive value of *group identification*. It appears that if a single index of



$$Y_c = 1.2867 + .1731X$$

$$\sigma Y_s = .3560$$

$$r^2 = .3079$$

Figure I. Relationship Between Group Identification and the Number of Kinds of Institutions and Organizations, Wake County, North Carolina, 1948.

TABLE 3. RELATION OF GROUP IDENTIFICATION SCORE OF RURAL LOCALITY GROUPS TO SEVERAL VARIABLES, WAKE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, 1948.

| Variables | Regression | | Standard error of estimate* | r^2 |
|-----------|------------|----------|-----------------------------|-------|
| | a | b | | |
| YX_1 | 1.2925 | + .1541X | .4562 | .1845 |
| YX_2 | 1.5713 | + .2335X | .4902 | .1497 |
| YX_3 | 1.5330 | + .0378X | .4212 | .2298 |
| YX_4 | 1.2867 | + .1731X | .3560 | .3079 |
| YX_2' | 1.6281 | + .0672X | .4846 | .1552 |
| YX_3' | 1.5784 | + .0151X | .4432 | .1987 |
| XY_4' | 1.4209 | + .0293X | .3376 | .2655 |

Y = Group identification

X_1 = Number of transportation and communication services

X_2 = Number of kinds of professional services

X_3 = Number of kinds of commercial services

X_4 = Number of kinds of institutions and organizations

X_2' = Number of professional people

X_3' = Number of commercial services

X_4' = Number of institutions and organizations

$$* \sigma Y_s = \frac{\sqrt{(1-r^2) \sum y^2}}{N-2}$$

Margaret Jarman Hagood, *Statistics for Sociologists* (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc., 1941), p. 630.

group identification is to be used that the number of kinds of institutions and organizations should be employed. The index of the *types* of these services was more highly associated with the enumerators' evaluation of group identification than any of the other indexes used in this study.

5. Additional experimentation is needed to establish a quantitative basis for classifying rural locality groups with respect to group identification. In view of the high inter-correlations of the objective or quantitative variables this appears feasible.

Social Relations in Beginning as a Farm Operator In An Area of Prosperous, Commercial Farming*

By Robert A. Rohwer †

ABSTRACT

The constructed type, a secular society, is approximated in Hamilton County, Iowa. Consequently, it is expected that here the family will not be an important unit of action. Yet in the specific social situation, beginning as a farm operator, family arrangements have been more frequent and more successful than secondary group relations. Kinship has been important in the start of seven out of ten of the farmers in the county, and family cooperators were younger than others when they began as farm operators. Implications for policy making, for economics and for social theory are discussed.

I

Theoretical Framework and Summary

If rural sociologists wish to generalize, to go beyond mere local description, they must be able to say how one society is like other societies and how it differs from them. A systematic approach to the task of comparing societies is the use of constructed general types. The con-

structed or ideal typology can serve both as a tool for analysis and as a reference point for the comparison of one society with another.

Howard Becker's isolated-sacred and accessible-secular societies¹ and Robert Redfield's folk and urban societies² have a number of features in

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¹ Leopold Von Wiese and Howard Becker, *Systematic Sociology* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1932), pp. 222-226. See also Harry Elmer Barnes and Howard Becker, *Social Thought from Lore to Science* (New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1938), vol. I, Chapter I.

² Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," *The American Journal of Sociology*, LII (January, 1947), 293-308.

common. Certain expectations follow logically from either Becker's constructs or Redfield's, and Redfield specifically raises the question of the interdependence and independence of the characteristics of an ideal-typical society.³

It is the purpose of this article to test empirically the expectation that in a society which closely approximates the secular construct the familial unit is not likely to be an important unit of action. The beginning of farmers as independent operators is the specific situation in which this general expectation concerning the importance of familial relationships is tested.

Many characteristics of the secular and urban societal constructs are approximated in Hamilton County, Iowa. The economy is pecuniary. Monetary returns are high. Farms are highly mechanized, and scientific agriculture is practiced. Rational farm management has prestige value. The vicinal, social and mental accessibility of farm families in the county is relatively high.⁴

³ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

⁴ The United States Census of Agriculture, 1945, indicates that few Hamilton County farms "produce products primarily for own household use." In 1945 more than half of the farms in the county reported a total value of products of \$6,000 or more per farm. The average value of land and buildings per farm for all farms in the county was nearly \$26,000. The average value of implements and machinery reported per farm was more than \$2,400. There are more tractors than farms in the county.

Attention to scientific agriculture may be illustrated by the fact that in a single year, 1948, 86% of the oat acreage in Iowa was planted to an improved variety, different from that used the year before. (H. C.

In an area of prosperous, commercial agriculture so closely approximating secular and urban-like characteristics we expect purely secondary group relationships to attend and benefit the formation of new farm units. But we find:

(1) Family arrangements have been important in the beginning of seven out of ten farmers contacted.

(2) Well over half of the men now operating Hamilton County farms have relied on relatives in solving the specific, component problem in starting as a farm operator—finding a farm to begin on.

(3) If age at beginning is used as an indicator of achievement in beginning as a farm operator, secondary group relations appear to be less successful than family cooperation.

(4) The importance of kinship may also be seen in the fact that farm operators whose parents and parents-in-law were farm owners were more likely to begin through family arrangements and were likely to begin a bit younger than farm operators whose parents were not farm owners.

The familial institution is important to an individual's beginning farming in this area despite specialized production for a world market, mechanization, scientific agriculture,

Murphy, "There'll Be More New Oats," *Iowa Farm Science*, Vol. 3, No. 6, page 9.)

The index of the level of living enjoyed by Hamilton County farm operator families in 1945 was 189 compared with a national average of 100. (See Margaret Jarman Hagood, *Farm Operator Family Level of Living Indexes for Counties of the United States, 1940-1945*. Washington, D. C. USDA, BAE, (mimeo) May, 1947.)

and the prevalence of numerous secular attitudes.

In the remainder of the paper the plan of the investigation and supporting evidence will be presented. In the closing section implications for policy and social theory are discussed.

II

Plan of the Study

A random sample was chosen from all the operators of farms in Hamilton County, Iowa that meet the Census definition of a farm. Two facts justify confidence in the representativeness of the sample. (1) It was randomly chosen on an individual farm basis. (2) Certain sample statistics, closely related to this study, are in close agreement with parameters estimated from the 1945 Census of Agriculture.

In late 1946 and early 1947 visits were made to the 150 farms in the sample. The operators of only 4 declined to participate in the study and no substitutions were made. Farm operators of all ages were included. The oldest was 86, and the youngest was 21. One or more began farming in almost every year between 1894 and 1946.

Several community areas and several nationality backgrounds are contained within the county. Tenure conditions, customs and family behavior in farming in Hamilton County probably are similar to large areas of Iowa and perhaps to much of the Cornbelt.⁵

⁵ Hamilton County happens to be one of the counties in the BAE master sample. This fact does not make it "representative"

Beginning as a farm operator in the cornbelt is a social situation, not a solitary activity. It involves completing arrangements with other people—creditors, backers, benefactors, landlords, and so lends itself to study by the sociologist.

From the viewpoint of the prospective farm operator, starting farming is a problem. He must line up machinery, power, livestock, seed and feed for the first year. He must subsist somehow until his first income. Farms are fewer than seekers after them. If the farmer marries in the year he begins as an operator, as 67 of the 146 in the sample did, the couple face the additional expense of setting up the new household. Most of these requirements must be met simultaneously.

Dollar values are not the focus of this study of social relations. Even so, it should be mentioned that the total costs of starting farming in the area studied during the 50 years represented in the study have never been less than several hundred dollars. At current high prices several thousand dollars are involved in a typical start.

Role of the Family

The 146 active farmers were asked how they first⁶ got started. Most of them had marshalled resources in several ways. Personal savings, loans from relatives, friends, banks

of a larger area, however. The generalizations of this paper apply only to Hamilton County.

⁶ Fifteen of the 146 started as a farm operator more than once having failed or quit the first time. The data reported here are for the first start made by the farm operator.

or government, and numerous types of family help were found in a variety of combinations to effect each man's start. Most beginning farmers combined every means available to them.

An estimate was made of the proportion of the arrangements which were worked out within the family. Half (75) of the farmers in the sample arranged their getting started almost completely within the family. One-fifth (29) relied heavily on both family and non-family sources. Three-tenths (42) made it with little or no family help.

A family-facilitated start does not necessarily imply that a gift was made to the beginner. It means, instead, that the relationships with other people involved in making a beginning, were contained within the family. Perhaps the young people later paid back, with interest, all the money or all the labor, equipment or stock that they were allowed to use to get past the first year or two. Or the young man may have worked at home long enough so that the family thought the father owed him a "stake" in lieu of back wages. The

point is that the start was made by the family working together on it, regardless of the final balance sheet of help given and paid back.

Perhaps some of these farmers had other alternatives besides family co-operation. Usually, though, it appeared that the family gave the beginner help at a time when no one else regarded him as a good risk. If many of the farmers who worked out their start through family arrangements *could* have done it in other ways, the fact remains that they didn't. The family shows up strongly in the start of seven out of ten of the present farm operators.

Principal Factors in Starting

Determining the principal factor in a farmer's start is complicated if he used a variety of arrangements to begin. In each case the crucial factor, the one hardest to do without, was selected. In Table 1 supplementary helps are neglected.

Followed Retiring Father

Eighteen sons, 12% of the sample, succeeded their fathers on the home

TABLE 1. PRINCIPAL FACTORS IN BEGINNING AS A FARM OPERATOR IN A RANDOM SAMPLE OF THE FARM OPERATORS IN HAMILTON COUNTY, IOWA, 1946.

| Principal factor in start | No. of cases | Per cent |
|---|--------------|------------|
| Followed retiring father | 18 | 12 |
| Followed deceased father or inherited money | 18 | 12 |
| "Stake" from the family | 21 | 15 |
| Gradually began from the home farm | 25 | 17 |
| Family loans | 22 | 15 |
| Savings only | 9 | 6 |
| Non-family loans | 33 | 23 |
| TOTAL | 146 | 100 |

farm when the father retired. One son followed his tenant father in renting from the same landlord. Usually the son bought the father's livestock and machinery as a going concern, although sometimes there was a public, close-out auction and the son selected items on the sale. Almost always the father extended credit, and nearly half of the fathers either made outright gifts or were generous in setting prices.⁷ A few of these succession arrangements were made so that the son's obligations were smaller at first and grew larger until he could take over the whole operation. When there were other children the father usually had helped or would help the others as well as the one who took over the home farm. In one large family the home farm was deliberately used as a spring board for the children: each began on the home farm, stayed two or three years, and made room for the next sibling by renting elsewhere.

Father-son succession during the father's lifetime is the most often idealized pattern for beginning but only one in eight Hamilton County farmers started that way.

Followed Deceased Father or Inherited Money

Eighteen farmers, 12% of the sample, got their chance to begin when someone died. Fourteen of them followed their fathers on the home farm. Four inherited money

from their parents so that they were able to start for themselves on the farms of other relatives. Of the eighteen, five bought livestock and machinery from their mothers to succeed their fathers and four bought from sibling coheirs. Half of the families inherited not only the father's livestock and machinery, and perhaps his farm, but also his debts. Often the debt was nearly as much as the assets were worth. In five cases, the death of parents left a group of unmarried children on the farm. These brother and sister groups show a strong tendency to live out their lives together in the same farm home.

"Stake" from the Family

Twenty-one farmers (15% of the sample) began farming when their families "staked them" to a start. About a third were given their start instead of back wages. The majority received a substantial gift, although the family help may also have included loans or work exchange. In at least one family it was understood that help given when the young man began farming was really an advance on his inheritance. Three couples were helped to begin by both the husband's parents and the wife's parents. An orphan was set up in farming by his grandfather. Three-fourths of the group began on either a farm that belonged to a relative or on a farm that a relative helped them find. In many families helping young people get started just seemed to happen. In others it was clearly a family policy from generations before.

⁷ Perhaps if a detailed economic study had been made instead of accepting the informants' volunteered interpretation, even more parental generosity might have been discovered.

Help received from one's father was not an obligation to the father but to one's children.

Gradually Began from the Home Farm

Twenty-five farmers (17% of the sample) worked up a beginning while they were still at home. In one way or another the enterprise on the home farm was expanded to give them a chance to share in it. Then, later, they were able to become wholly independent. The process might be called the fission of farm enterprises, for, like bacteria, one enterprise grows, divides into two or more parts, and the parts each become a complete farm unit.

Fifteen in this category began by first renting some land near the home farm. Proximity permitted them to borrow the father's machinery, perhaps exchanging work on the home farm for board and the use of machinery. As earnings from the extra rented land accumulated, the young man built up his own set of equipment and perhaps livestock. Half of the extra tracts were owned by relatives of the beginner.

Six were married when they began farming and did not live on the home farm. Even though they had small savings or borrowed some money, proximity to parents or parents-in-law was the most important factor in their start. At least part of the father's machinery was extended to cover both farms until the young men could buy all of their own. One young man owned only his tractor the first two years.

The remaining four began by actual partnership with the father. Two families planned that the junior partner should take over an increasing proportion of the enterprise as the father retired or "retreated" from active farming. The other two young men are expected to be on their own later without replacing the father on the home farm.

Family Loans

Twenty two farmers (15% of the sample) owed their start mostly to family help on loans. Usually a relative made the loan directly to the borrower. Occasionally the family loan seemed to provide the security for an additional bank loan. In almost a third of the cases included here a relative backed the young couple by signing with them for a loan from someone else. In all cases borrowing and the family's part in it seemed indispensable.

Eleven of the twenty two were helped by the wife's family and eleven, by the husband's. Usually parents gave the assistance but brothers, sisters, and even cousins were found providing major help. Most of the loans were more or less unsecured except for the borrower's character, and a few departed even further from straight commercial borrowing. For example, two lenders charged only 2% interest. Among those who borrowed through the husband's family, all but one began on a farm

* C. J. Galpin and Emily F. Hoag *Farm Tenancy, An Analysis of the Occupancy of 500 Farms*, Wisconsin Agri. Exp. Sta., Res. Bul. 44, 1919. p. 6 ff.

belonging to the lender. Where the wife's family helped on the loan, the farm belonged to a non-relative in half the cases.

Savings Only

Only nine farmers (6% of the sample) started farming purely by investing their savings. All others either received family help of some sort or found it necessary to supplement savings with a loan. Four of the nine who did start on savings were not born in America but migrated to this country as young men. They worked hard, saved carefully, and on the average stayed single until they were 30 years old. Another is a part-time farmer.⁹ One has always been a bachelor. Each of the other three decided to operate a farm after spending half his life in a city occupation. One of these three now operates both his farm and his town business, employing others in both places. The other two converts from the city are bona fide, family type farmers in that they not only manage their farms but they do most of the physical work on them.

Can a farm youth stay in farming and through his own efforts save enough to begin farming for himself? The life stories of Hamilton County farmers suggest a pessimistic view. The chances are 19 to 1 that no more than 10%, at most, of the farm operators in Hamilton

County began farming solely from savings.¹⁰

Non-family Loans

Thirty three farmers (23% of the sample) borrowed from a source outside their families to begin farming. Some used the loan to add to their savings but the majority depended largely upon the loan to outfit themselves. Banks were most often the lenders although a number of farmers borrowed from private individuals. Several got their start through a Farm Security Administration loan. Occasionally a farmer reported that a non-relative had loaned to him just as if he had been the lender's own son. Unsecured, character loans were more common in earlier times than lately. But quite a number of the men now farming owe their start to the faith of bankers and other persons who would bet money on their becoming successful farmers.

As might be expected, this category contains more than its share of the men whose parents died before their children were grown and men whose parents suffered some misfortune or financial reverses themselves. Also in this category are the few who occupy the very poorest farms and who express the most fear about losing their start in farming. Of course, many very prosperous farmers are also included here.

Finding a Farm

Of the 146 farmers in the sample, 52% began on a family farm; 12%

⁹ The universe was defined in terms of the operators of farms meeting the Census definition of a farm: three or more acres of farm land or total farm products of \$250 or more. U. S. Census of Agriculture, 1940 Vol. III, p. 22.

¹⁰ The maximum true frequency is estimated by adding to the frequency found twice its standard error.

TABLE 2. AGE AT STARTING FARMING OF A RANDOM SAMPLE OF THE FARM OPERATORS IN HAMILTON COUNTY, IOWA, 1946.

| Age | No. of farmers | Percent |
|-------------------|----------------|---------|
| 17-20 years | 7 | 5 |
| 21-24 years | 55 | 38 |
| 25-29 years | 49 | 33 |
| 30-34 years | 16 | 11 |
| 35-50 years | 19 | 13 |
| TOTAL | 146 | 100 |

began on farms that relatives helped them find; and 36% found the first farm they occupied, by themselves.

Family aid in finding a farm to occupy is positively associated with family cooperation in the total starting situation. Most of the men who started with little or no family help also found their first farms by themselves and were not related to their landlords.¹¹

Typically the beginner rents a farm. Only eleven began by taking title to a farm in their first year as a farm operator. Four of the eleven inherited both operatorship and farm at the same time. A fifth, with his mother, inherited his father's farm and its debt. Since equity and debt were equal, the insurance company creditor made a new purchase contract for the young man. Another was an owner from the start because his retiring father sold farm and going concern to the boys on very generous terms. Three men left non-farm occupations with enough savings to buy both farm and initial operating equipment. The tenth began by homesteading in Dakota in 1902. Only one used the savings from farm

wage work for a down payment to buy a farm when he started as a farm operator at age 27. This was in 1894.

Age at Starting

Very few farmers began as operators before they were legally of age. Twenty three per cent began at 21 and 22 years of age. Even so, almost as many began in their late 'twenties as in the early 'twenties. And one farmer in four did not get started farming for himself until he was 30 years of age or older.

Those who began with family arrangements got started at an earlier age more often than those who began alone or with the help of non-relatives.¹² The few who began entirely from their savings were easily the oldest when they started. They were nine years older than the general average of 26.8 years. Those who started on loans, whether they borrowed from wife's relatives, husband's relatives, or non-relatives, began at an average age of about 28½ years. Those who started through family helps other than loans averaged about 24½ years of age at beginning farming.

¹¹ $X^2 = 54.293$; degrees of freedom = 4; significance level, $p = < 0.001$; Coefficient of Contingency, $C = .524$.

¹² $X^2 = 24.690$; $df = 4$; $p = < 0.001$; $C = .381$. (See Table 3.)

Tenure of Parents

If a beginning farmer was the son of a farm owner¹³ he was more likely to begin through family arrangements than if his parents were renters or were not farm people.¹⁴

Similarly, sons of farm owners more often got started at an early age than did either the sons of renters or the sons of nonfarmers. The sons of renters, in turn, were not delayed as long as the men whose parents did not farm or whose parents were deceased at the time the operator married.¹⁵

When account is taken of the tenure status of both spouses' parents, not alone the operator's, essentially these same results are obtained. Farm ownership by one or both sets of parents is conducive to family facilitat-

¹³ The parents' tenure status was learned as of the time the operator married, not when he began farming. However, in few cases would the parent's tenure be different because half the farmers married in the year they began as operators, and most of the rest married soon after or shortly before.

The parents of 73% (106) of the 146 farmer operators in the sample owned a farm when the operator married. The parents of 18% (26) rented a farm and the parents of 9% (14) did not farm or were deceased.

¹⁴ $X^2 = 20.016$; $df = 4$; $p = < 0.001$; $C = .348$.

¹⁵ $X^2 = 21.087$; $df = 4$; $p = < 0.001$; $C = .355$

ed starts,¹⁶ and to beginning in farming at an early age.¹⁷

It is hardly surprising to find that farm ownership by either parental family, or both, is associated with the operator's beginning on a farm owned by a relative.¹⁸

Past Decades

It is of interest to know whether reliance on the family is changing with time. The information available fails to indicate that families in Hamilton County are helping their young people to get started farming any more often nor any less than they did earlier.¹⁹

No trend is evident in the family's helping to find a first farm for the beginning operator.²⁰

¹⁶ $X^2 = 24.322$; $df = 4$; $p = < 0.001$; $C = .385$

¹⁷ $X^2 = 23.469$; $df = 4$; $p = < 0.001$; $C = .379$. In 46% of the cases (64) the parents of both the operator and his wife owned a farm. In 36% of the cases (51) one set of parents owned a farm. In 18% of the cases (25) the parents of neither owned a farm. The six remaining operators never married.

¹⁸ $X^2 = 17.020$; $df = 4$; $p = < 0.01$; $C = .333$

¹⁹ $X^2 = 8.404$; $df = 8$; $p = < 0.50$.

²⁰ $X^2 = 7.836$; $df = 8$; $p = < 0.50$. Caution is required in interpreting the data of this section: (1) failure to rule out chance does not establish chance as the explanation; (2) men still farming, representing only the survivors to the present, may not properly represent all those who began in earlier times.

TABLE 3. KINSHIP ARRANGEMENTS IN STARTING AS A FARM OPERATOR BY OPERATOR'S AGE AT STARTING, HAMILTON COUNTY, IOWA, 1946.

| Kinship relations in starting farming | Age began as farm operator | | | Total |
|--|----------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 17-24 | 25-29 | 30-50 | |
| Mainly kinship | 39 | 25 | 11 | 75 |
| Both | 15 | 11 | 3 | 29 |
| Mainly non-kin | 8 | 13 | 21 | 42 |
| TOTAL | 62 | 49 | 35 | 146 |

That there is some relationship between the decade when a man began and the age at which he started is indicated by the Chi-square test. But inspection of the data does not reveal the direction of the association.²¹

III

Implications for Policy and Social Theory

There are implications for social policy in the above findings. If, in the future, the backing of a farm owning family becomes even more important than it now is, a "hereditary class of farm operators" may result. If the opportunity to farm is a privilege which a democratic society wishes to keep open, nonfamily agencies should be encouraged to help those without farm family backing who find it difficult to compete under present arrangements. Elements in the pattern of family assistance can be adopted by such nonfamily agencies as individuals helping nonrelatives, bankers lending to young men in their communities, and government administrations set up to assist the men who have the least private backing.

The findings also have implications for the study of economic problems. From a strictly economic point of view starting out as a farm operator is the birth of a farm firm. But if the process of beginning as a farm operator is studied as the interplay

only of monetary forces, without a consideration of the social relations involved, a great deal of highly relevant information is lost. Even in an area of prosperous, commercial agriculture such as Hamilton County, the farm firm and the farm family are so closely tied together that they must be considered together. Phases of farm management might be clarified by viewing each farmstead as a network of human relationships. Social relations and kinship might also prove to be a fruitful source of explanation for some of the ups and downs of urban firms, including certain large corporations.

These findings suggest certain cautions in the use of sociological theories. Constructed types and models should contribute more to rural sociologists than they have in past analyses. Yet it must not be assumed that typologies are mutually exclusive categories in a dichotomous classification. The ends of a conceptual continuum are polar pictures never completely found in actuality. The actual experience of beginning farm operators in Hamilton County includes considerable elements of both sacred and secular organization. A primary group, the family, empirically provides economic strength in what is basically secular, agricultural production.

It must not be assumed that the historical trend always involves movement in culture and social organization from one end of the continuum to the other. In Hamilton County the secularization of the "industrial revolution" reflected in me-

²¹ $X^2 = 20.797$; $df = 8$; $p = < 0.01$; $C = .354$. The value of X^2 is accumulated largely in three cells: a lack of older beginners in the decade 1920-29; too few young and too many older men in the 1940-1946 period.

chanization and the new agricultural technology has been accomplished. But the social organization of launching into farming remains essentially familistic and sacred. Secular, economically rational behavior in one phase of life, we find, indicates neither a completely secular mode of living nor a trend toward the obliteration of sacred or folk practices.

Social scientists would be wise not to advocate either polarity as a norm. Many rural sociologists, loving the farm, especially the farm of their youth, have sometimes idealized the folk or sacred aspects of farm life as something to be preserved and promoted. Personal preferences are indisputable but they must not enter into the carrying out of any investi-

gation once the hypothesis has been selected. Many economists and a minority of rural sociologists have dubbed some of their colleagues "agricultural fundamentalists". But the dubbers seem almost as prone to equate the constructs, economic man and/or rationalistic man, with all that is virtuous. Neither set of constructs is to be held up as a goal or disparaged. The findings reported in this article reveal that farm people combine both sacred and secular behaviors in their way of life. Sociologists, whose task is to *study* rural life, not live it, ought to be equally capable of avoiding an either-or mentality concerning their tools for analysis.

The Use of Publicity Materials in North Carolina Weeklies*

By George L. Abernethy † and C. Brooks Anderson ††

ABSTRACT

The editors of North Carolina weeklies make relatively little use of the mass of free clip-sheets, news releases, mats and other publicity materials sent them by governmental agencies and special interest groups. Approximately one-half of the 112 sources originating such materials failed to secure a single insertion of their releases in thirty-two North Carolina weeklies over a three weeks' period. Only ten sources were able to secure ten or more insertions. The editors revealed resistance to releases or other publicity materials which feature brand-names and trade associations and which are not well-adapted to local reader interest. The results of this investigation are compared with those obtained in an earlier study of South Dakota weeklies.

I. Introduction

An earlier study¹ reported that the editors of South Dakota weeklies made relatively little use of the mass of free clip-sheets, news releases, mats and other publicity materials sent them by a large number of agencies, special interest groups, and institutions. The present study undertakes to determine the extent to which the editors of North Carolina weeklies make use of similar publicity materials.

The authors were able to inspect and catalogue all the releases and other publicity materials received by two North Carolina weekly newspa-

pers during a three weeks' period.²

This was done on the assumption that it would provide a fair sample of the materials being received by North Carolina weeklies. For five consecutive weeks³ following the first week's cataloguing of these materials thirty-two North Carolina weeklies were inspected to determine the number of times, if any, such publicity materials were actually inserted by the editors of the weeklies. The thirty-two weeklies were selected from the four geographical areas of the state—Tidewater, Coastal Plain, Piedmont, and Mountain—in proportion to their relative population. Following the compilation of the data on actual insertions of publicity materials, a questionnaire was sent to the editors of the thirty-two weeklies to ascertain their attitudes toward the publicity materials they were receiving. The entire study was confined to free publicity materials and thus no analy-

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¹ G. L. Abernethy and P. M. Berry, "The Use of Publicity Materials in South Dakota Weeklies," *Rural Sociology*, XI, (December, 1946), 346-355.

² March 11-April 1, 1948.

³ March 18-April 29, 1948.

sis was made of the content of Western Newspaper Union and other syndicated materials ordinarily purchased by the weekly newspapers.

II. The Sample

There are 141 North Carolina weekly newspapers listed in the 1946 Ayer Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals. Thus the thirty-two North Carolina weeklies inspected represent a 22.7% sample. They reported circulation figures ranging from a low of 750 to a high of 3,900. The median circulation was 1,926. All of these figures are considerably higher than those reported in the South Dakota study.⁴ The distribution for the North Carolina weeklies is as follows:

| Circulation | No. of Weeklies |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| 500- 999 | 2 |
| 1,000-1,499 | 6 |
| 1,500-1,999 | 9 |
| 2,000-2,499 | 8 |
| 2,500-2,999 | 3 |
| 3,000-3,499 | 2 |
| 3,500-3,999 | 2 |

The North Carolina sample differs markedly from the earlier South Dakota sample in the use made by the editors of Western Newspaper Union syndicated materials. Only two of the thirty-two North Carolina weeklies used regularly four pages of WNU "ready-prints" in contrast to eleven of the thirty-seven South Dakota weeklies. Four of the North Carolina weeklies used single column WNU features while eleven of the South Dakota weeklies fell into this category.

⁴G. L. Abernethy and P. M. Berry, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

III. Use of Releases

Examination of the sample of thirty-two North Carolina weeklies for five consecutive weeks revealed that only one weekly (3.1%) had not inserted any releases or other publicity materials. This was a weekly whose circulation was slightly above the median. In the earlier South Dakota sample 13.5% of the weeklies did not insert publicity materials.

It was found that four of the thirty-two North Carolina weeklies (12.5%) were in the group using from 1 to 4 releases during the five weeks period. All four weeklies exceeded the median circulation. In the South Dakota sample 32.4% of the weeklies were found in this group.

There were eight North Carolina weeklies (25%) which used from 5 to 9 releases in the period covered by the study. In this group three of the weeklies exceeded the median circulation with two of the three weeklies reporting the largest circulations in the entire sample. The group also contained the two weeklies with the smallest circulations. (The weekly with the smallest circulation also used 4 pages of WNU "ready-prints", and two of the weeklies falling below the median circulation used a single column WNU feature.) In the South Dakota study 29.7% of the weeklies were in the group using 5 to 9 releases.

Five North Carolina weeklies (15.6%) fell into the group using 10 to 14 releases. Two of them were below the median circulation; one of these used 4 pages of WNU "ready-prints."

There were seven North Carolina weeklies (21.8%) which inserted from 15 to 19 releases. Four of these weeklies were below the median circulation.

In the group using from 20 to 57 releases were also found seven North Carolina weeklies (21.8%). Five weeklies in this category fell below the median circulation. (Two weeklies in this group used single column WNU features.)

If the figures for the three preceding groups are consolidated, we find that nineteen of the North Carolina weeklies (59.4%) used 10 or more releases. This contrasts sharply with the data of the South Dakota study which revealed that 24.3% of the South Dakota weeklies inserted 10 or more releases. The largest total number of releases used by a single North Carolina weekly in the period studied was 57 while the corresponding number for a South Dakota weekly was 28.⁵ Thus more of the North Carolina weeklies used releases and publicity materials and they use more of them than South Dakota weeklies, in the respective periods of time studied. The fact that North Carolina weeklies make much less use of WNU syndicated materials indicates that they have more space available for both local news and publicity materials.

In addition to noting the number of releases used by individual North Carolina weeklies, the releases were tabulated by sources to ascertain the number of insertions in weekly news-

papers a given source was able to obtain in the five weeks period. For this purpose all materials from a given source were lumped together. Thus, in some cases the total figure will represent the total number of insertions of a single release while in other cases it will represent the total number of insertions of a variety of releases, mats, or clip-sheets.

Sources Having 10-186 Insertions

Agricultural Extension Service of North Carolina State College (186)

North Carolina Department of Motor Vehicles (46)

North Carolina State College News Bureau (22)

George S. Benson, President, Harding College, Searcy, Arkansas (22)

North Carolina State Education Commission (20)

North Carolina League for Crippled Children (16)

Institute of Life Insurance (14)

National Association of Manufacturers (14)

The Methodist Hour (11)

North Carolina State Department of Agriculture (11)

It is significant to note that the source which led all others by a wide margin in the number of insertions was the Agricultural Extension Service of the North Carolina State College. In the opinion of the authors these releases seemed to be well-written and intelligently adapted to the needs and interests of the readers of rural weeklies. They were used by twenty-six of the thirty-two news-

⁵ G. L. Abernethy and P. M. Berry, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

papers in the five weeks period. The releases of the North Carolina Department of Motor Vehicles dealt mainly with accident statistics and the schedules for vehicle inspection. Those of the North Carolina State College News Bureau were simply lists of the students from a given county who were in attendance at the State College. The releases from the State Educational Commission publicized an extensive questionnaire study which the Commission was sponsoring. The releases of President Benson were a weekly column of opinion treating current topics from the viewpoint of conservative businessmen. Two weeklies accounted for nine of the twenty-two insertions of this column. The Institute of Life Insurance was successful in having cartoon mats containing favorable references to life insurance published in six weeklies which did not use a syndicated editorial cartoon. One weekly, however, accounted for six of the fourteen insertions. The Methodist Hour publicized a radio program sponsored nationally by the Methodist Church. This was the only release publicizing a radio feature which appeared in any weekly during the study. The National Association of Manufacturers sends out a clip-sheet of cartoons, features, editorials and quotations, for some of which mats are available. Thirteen of the fourteen insertions of materials from this source appeared in a single weekly. The releases from the State Department of Agriculture presented agricultural statistics and marketing news. The releases from the North

Carolina League for Crippled Children were part of a fund-raising campaign and presented "human-interest" material.

In this group of sources having the largest number of insertions no release was published containing a reference to a commercial product or a "brand-name." Five of the sources were state governmental agencies, one a philanthropy, and one a denominational agency. Only three of the sources represented a special business interest or viewpoint and the insertions of their materials were concentrated in a small group of weeklies. It is interesting to note that in the corresponding group of sources with 10 or more insertions in the earlier South Dakota study comparable results were reported. The South Dakota State College Agricultural Extension Service ranked second in the list of sources. The National Association of Manufacturers had the same number of insertions (14). Another conservative business source had 19 insertions. The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis had relatively the same position as the North Carolina League for Crippled Children. The chief difference at this point in the two studies lay in the fact that news letters from the two South Dakota congressmen seemed to occupy the place filled by the state governmental agencies in the North Carolina study.⁶

Sources Having 5-9 Insertions
Textile Information Service (9)
Wake Forest College (9)

⁶ G. L. Abernethy and P. M. Berry, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

North Carolina State Board of Health (8)
 Esso Farm News (8)
 State Headquarters, Scott for Governor (7)
 4-H National Committee on Boys and Girls Club Work (6)
 Duke University (6)
 North Carolina Council of Churches (6)
 North Carolina Petroleum Industries Committee (6)
 Veterans Administration (5)
 American Cancer Society (5)
 Charles M. Johnson for Governor (5)
 North Carolina Division, United States Brewers Foundation (5)

In this group only one source managed to secure insertions of materials involving a "brand-name" (Esso). Four other sources promoting the interests of specific trade associations or industry groups were able to secure insertions of their releases. Of these four only one source, Textile Information Service, furnished mats which had a specifically local or regional "human-interest" appeal. Five of its nine insertions were found in the weekly which led the entire sample in use of releases. The releases of the two educational institutions were mainly lists of the names of students from a specific county. The releases of the American Cancer Society and the North Carolina Council of Churches dealt with drives that were being conducted on both a local and state-wide basis. The 4-H releases had some regional appeal. The remaining sources were governmental agencies or candidates for political office.

Sources Having 1-4 Insertions

The American National Red Cross (4)
 Wilmington Post (4)
 Association of American Railroads (3)
 "Charleston's Famous Gardens" (3)
 National Association of Greeting Card Publishers (3)
 University of North Carolina News Service (2)
 American Overseas Aid, United Nations Appeal for Children (2)
 Girl Scouts of United States of America (2)
 North Carolina Wildlife Resources Commission (2)
 North Carolina Education Association (2)
 National Cotton Council of America (2)
 National Baseball Congress (2)
 Mississippi State Democratic Party (2)
 John A. Clements Associates (2)
 Southern Railway System (2)
 Peck Associates (2)
 American Iron and Steel Institute (2)
 Appalachian State Teachers College (1)
 Atlantic Greyhound Corporation (1)
 Citizen's Committee on Displaced Persons (1)
 Industrial News Review (1)
 International Council of Religious Education (1)
 News Bureau, Greensboro College (1)
 North Carolina Highways and Public Works (1)

North Carolina Merchants' Association (1)
 North Carolina State Employment Security Commission (1)
 Ohio State University News Service (1)
 SC Syndicate (1)
 Senator William Umstead (1)
 War Department, Public Information Office, California (1)

Magazine publishers 4
 Health and medical organizations 4
 Fraternal and service organizations 3
 Labor Organizations 3
 Religious organizations 2
 Farm organizations 1
 Miscellaneous 2

Total 57

In this group of thirty-one sources whose releases ordinarily secured only one or two insertions during the five weeks period were five educational institutions or associations, four governmental agencies, six philanthropic or religious organizations, and two political sources. There were six sources which were successful in securing the insertion of releases mentioning "brand-names" or the trade name of a service offered for sale. Both these releases and those emanating from eight trade association or industry-wide sources seemed to be poorly adapted to the reader interests of small-town and rural weeklies.

Sources Having No Insertions

There were 57 sources which failed to obtain a single insertion in the thirty-two weeklies.⁷ They may be classified as follows:

Industrial Corporations and trade associations 23
 Governmental bureaus and agencies 7
 Political organizations 4
 Educational institutions and organizations 4

The "brand-name" and trade associations releases emanating from the 23 sources lacked either a regional or local "angle." Some of them were so bulky and technical that no editor of a weekly would ever have the time to adapt them to his uses. Others were simply bids for free advertising as in the case of recipes or columns of household hints which feature a "brand-name". The most that such releases can hope for is only an occasional insertion. Since most of these materials are sent out by advertising agencies, the practice invites the suspicion that advertising clients are being misled as to the possible value of the service rendered. There is some truth in the contention of editors of weeklies that the same money spent on advertisements would at least lead to the appearance of the message in many more weeklies. Whether advertisements prepared with the same lack of regard for the interests of the readers of North Carolina weeklies, as are some of the releases, would be effective advertisements is a question which lies outside the scope of this investigation.

There are a number of governmental agencies and philanthropic organi-

⁷ A list containing the names of these sources may be obtained from the authors.

zations in this group of 57 sources which were able to secure insertions at times other than the period covered by this study as the authors discovered by cursory examination. Too much significance must not be attached to the fact that one of these sources fell into the group of "no insertions" rather than "1-4 insertions." However, most of the "brand-name" and trade association sources in the "no insertion" category would probably remain there for other periods of time than that covered by this study.

IV. Questionnaire Responses

A questionnaire was sent to the editors of the thirty-two North Carolina weeklies examined in this study. Twenty-three questionnaires were returned by the editors. The purposes of the questionnaire were to secure the editors' evaluations of the publicity materials which they received and to determine their *stated* use of such materials. The latter was checked against what actually appeared in the weeklies over a five weeks' period.

The editors were asked to estimate the weekly volume of publicity materials which they received. None reported receiving fewer than 25 items a week. Thirteen (56.5%) of the editors indicated amounts ranging from 25 to 50 pieces; six (26%) received 75 to 100 pieces; four (17.3%) estimated the weekly volume as 100 or more. This latter estimate possibly represents some confusion with the total volume of mail received.

Four (17.3%) of the editors reported that they opened all releases and publicity materials. One editor (4.3%) discarded 10% of the materials without opening them. Six editors (26%) tossed unopened into the wastebasket 25-50% of the materials; three (13%) reported similar treatment for 50-75% of the publicity materials. Seven (30.4%) of the editors discarded unopened more than 75% while two others (8.6%) claimed they threw away unexamined all of the materials which they received. These replies in general do not appear to be inconsistent with the actual use of the materials by the weeklies.

The respondents revealed considerable variation in their answers to the question, "What percentage of the materials is really advertising and should be paid for at advertising rates?" Three (13%) of the editors judged 10% of the material to be such; one (4.3%) checked 25%; seven (30.4%) estimated 50%; four (17.3%) estimated 75%; seven (30.4%) checked 90%; and one (4.3%) classified all of the material as advertising.

When asked to list examples of the materials which should be paid for at regular space rates five editors (21.7%) did not reply. Thirteen (56.5%) editors listed such materials as releases featuring movie and radio stars, releases mentioning brand-names or companies, or organizations of a non-charitable type. Three (13%) listed political parties. One editor (4.3%) suggested "most of it;" another said, "practically all;" and a

third said, "Anything that has a business contact. If they can pay experts to write and make mats, they can pay the paper to carry it." Another editor cited Army news, Government Bond sales, and "trade magazine stuff."

When asked whether they published regularly any of the publicity materials received, seven (30.4%) editors replied in the negative. Eight (34.7%) reported that they made regular use of farm and conservation news from such sources as the State Agricultural Extension Service; eight (34.7%) indicated the regular use of releases with local and county interests such as Army Recruiting Service stories, college news, and releases from State bureaus; one (4.8%) used mats dealing with the American Association of Railroads, Fire Prevention, Government Bonds, Veterans Administration, and "Our Democracy" (Institute of Life Insurance). Only one editor (4.3%) reported that he made regular use of the releases of the State Department of Motor Vehicles although the examination of the weeklies revealed that several other editors were making regular use of them. One editor (4.3%) used "as many as we have time to set and space permits." Another reported the regular use of recipes. In view of the results, reported above, which were obtained from the analysis of the weeklies' actual use of the releases it would appear that the editors underestimate their regular use of the materials.

"Would you use more of this material if you had more space available?"

Ten (43.4%) editors replied with a categorical "No"; ten (43.4%) expressed serious doubts; one (4.3%) answered "yes"; one (4.3%) said "possibly"; two (8.7%) mentioned their limited space and their policy of presenting only local news. Three editors (13%) revealed antagonism toward the "propaganda" slant of the releases.

Nine (39.1%) editors reported that they never received any helpful ideas or background materials for editorials; fourteen (60.8%) indicated that they occasionally received helpful materials. Among the examples cited were: statistics on traffic accidents, interpretations of the nation's economy, contrasts between American and foreign economic systems, comments on national and international affairs, and "Life Insurance Facts."

The editors were asked to state their chief criticisms of the form and content of the materials. Nine replies (39.1%) offered criticisms of which the following are typical: "Old news when we get it," "not localized," "its mat form does not conform with our type faces, nor column size," "seldom written in news style." Propaganda and bids for free advertising were criticized by ten editors (43.4%). One reply (4.3%) stated that government agencies send out too many releases and that "every agency sends out a write-up of the same subject."

Six (26%) respondents failed to respond to the question: "What do you find to be most valuable in the materials you now receive?" Nine (39.1%) of the editors who replied

listed farm news and agricultural releases. Four editors (17.3%) listed public service information such as Highway releases, Veterans Bureau data, Health Department releases, Social Security information, and local recruiting news. The remaining editors listed a wide variety of materials which were mentioned only once.

"Are there organizations, public relations counselors, government bureaus, and corporations whose materials you are not receiving which you would like to see?" Two (8.7%) editors failed to answer this question. Nineteen (82.6%) editors replied in the negative. One editor (4.3%) replied, "More from industrial organizations. But strictly on the human side, more names and descriptions about people." One editor's reply was, "Yes, the Congressional Record."

V. Conclusions

1. This investigation supports the finding of the earlier South Dakota study that the results of the blanket mailing of publicity materials to rural weeklies indicate it to be an ineffective method of reaching an appreciable proportion of the readers of weekly newspapers. Approximately half (50.8%) of the total 112 sources failed to secure a single insertion of their releases in the thirty-two North Carolina weeklies. Only ten sources (8.9%) were able to secure ten or more insertions during the period of the study. When the content of the releases was scrutinized it became evi-

dent that releases containing brand-names or trade association references were used only to a very limited degree.

2. The South Dakota study reported that the weeklies with the largest circulation made the least use of the releases while those with the smallest circulation made the greatest use of them. This clearly-defined pattern was not found in the North Carolina sample.

3. The releases in general were poorly adapted to local reader interest and the news policies of the weeklies. Most of the sources were agencies operating on a national or state-wide basis which failed to relate the material in their releases to life in a rural community or a small town. Very few of the sources were farm organizations or agencies interested in rural life.

4. North Carolina editors revealed considerable resistance to materials which were essentially bids for free advertising. As a result a large number of releases are discarded upon the mere recognition of a characteristic envelope.

5. The North Carolina weeklies made relatively little use of Western Newspaper Union syndicated materials and thus had more space available for either local news or publicity materials. This probably accounts for the relatively greater use of releases made by the North Carolina editors in contrast to that revealed by the South Dakota editors in the earlier study.

The Effects of Social Change upon the Rural Personality

(AND A FEW CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS)*

By Carle C. Zimmerman †

ABSTRACT

Studies of basic personality cover what was formerly discussed by rural sociologists under the concept of the rural mind. Rural life demonstrates three basic organizations of personality, that emphasizing the family (Homeric), that emphasizing land and homestead (Hesiodic), and that completely engulfed in the money economy (Aristophanic). At any one time different social classes in agriculture express one or the other versions of these three basic personalities. The small isolated farm groups are primarily Homeric. Others like the Pennsylvania Germans illustrate the Hesiodic. The large capitalist aggregates emphasize the Aristophanic.

Western society may be divided into periods according to which of these mentalities is most dominant. At present we are in an extremely Aristophanic period.

An understanding of these three mentalities will help us to evaluate the strength and weaknesses of our present rural culture. An "ideal" rural social system would seek to promote all three values, family, land and homestead, and money.

The Rural Mind has been an object of long-continued discussion by Rural Sociologists. This rural mind discussion is part of a more general field of analysis of *basic personality* now blossoming fruitfully in studies of culture and personality.¹ My studies lead me to present a number of new hypotheses which I think are of extreme importance in understanding contemporary American agriculture and rural life and, incidentally, its decisive influence upon national policies.

* Christmas Meeting, Rural Sociological Society, December 29, 1948, Chicago, Illinois.

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¹ For general developments in the field of personality studies with which this changing conception of the rural mind or personality finds sympathy, see Gardner Murphy, *Personality*, New York, 1948, Ch. 36, "History as the Proving Ground"; Abram Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, New York, 1945, for the conception of basic personality and Ch. XIV, "Basic Personality and History."

We must begin to consider the rural mind (basic rural personalities) as part of a larger frame of reference—that of our total Western Society. Consequently we cannot think of *one* rural mind more than we can identify one Western mind. There may be such but it becomes so elementary and generalized that the conception does not have too much utility. In our general studies of spiritual and psychological forces in the course of Western civilization, we identify a number of variant minds or basic personalities. To illustrate, we speak of the mind of the Dark Ages, the feudal mind of Medieval times, the rise of the capitalistic mind and, finally, the "revolt of the masses" mind of the twentieth century. We cannot consider one rural mind as dominating all of these periods.

The basic rural personality is part of a larger system and will change

with changes in that system. The metal in an eighteenth century plow was not the same as that introduced by the age of steel or that in the modern tractor. The mind of the country man was different in the Dark Ages from the feudal times, and changed fundamentally with the development of feudalism to its height. The rural mind of the nineteenth century capitalism was not that of the feudal times any more than it is the same today as in the nineteenth century.²

At the start it must be made clear that this conception of the rural mind moving with changes in the general Western social system does not underrate the significance of the basic rural personality in our total life. The fact that the rural mind or personality adapts to the bigger culture does not minimize its importance as a determiner of total Western collective behavior at any particular time. As a matter of fact, its make-up and general conception of life is primary, and changes in it are of paramount importance to the general future of our culture. That is, to take an earlier example, feudalism as a *fides* system binding the social classes together, had to vanish in its entirety when the rural mind be-

came interested in fee-simple proprietorship of land. From that step we developed the land-mind of the farmer, the Hesiodic type. This Hesiodic type moved forward with the further advent of capitalism to the more pure capitalistic of farm-bloc type. This, following similar Greek parallels in nomenclature is called the Aristophanic type in order to match the pre-Hesiodic of Homeric family-minded rural personality.³ Similar steps in the general or "urban" mind were dependent upon a close agreement, with some lag, in the rural mind.

Basic and General Propositions

Thus far we have briefly introduced certain hypotheses which may be given succinctly as follows:

1. Rural culture in our society is a part of a greater system known as Western culture.
2. This greater system changes constantly in time, depending upon the particular emphasis

² The problem of general changes of personality with the coming of the modern world is illustrated in the numerous studies by Wilhelm Roscher, Gustave Schmoller, Werner Sombart and Max Weber. See Zimmerman, *Consumption and Standards of Living*, New York, 1936, Ch. XXI, on institutional and historical studies of standards of living. See for a recent fictional reconstruction, based upon actual cases, Thomas B. Costain, *The Moneyman*, New York, 1947.

³ The Hesiodic type of personality, generalized for all of rural life—i.e., the one rural mind of personality—is used by E. K. L. Francis in an article in *Rural Sociology*, September, 1945. For a criticism of the one conception of the rural mind, and the development of the three types—Homeric, Hesiodic and Aristophanic, see Zimmerman, *Outline of Cultural Rural Sociology*, Cambridge, 1948, pp. 73-87. For the real Aristophanic viewpoint on farmers, see Victor Ehrenberg's *People of Aristophanes*, Oxford, 1943, special chapter on rural people. Thus the basic rural personality has moved somewhat in a cyclical fashion so far in Western society. The Aristophanic farmer of the Roman empire eventually ended up as a Homeric rural dweller in the same territory and among the same people. See Roth Clausen, *The Roman Colonate*, for the third-fourth centuries and Gregory of Tours *History of the Franks* for the sixth and seventh.

which is given different systems of values.

3. Each change in a system of culture or values eventually brings about or is associated with a new "basic personality" type such as the twentieth century business man as opposed to the medieval knight.
4. Rural life also changes its culture along with changes in the general culture.⁴
5. Consequently, we may not speak of *one rural mind* or one rural basic personality except in a very simple generalized sense in which the idea has little utility. Rather we must speak of the changing rural mind.⁵
6. The basic interests of rural life are family, land and economic returns. Changing personalities in rural life would represent new combinations of these basic interests.
7. We may speak of these three elements in the rural personality as Homeric (family), Hesiodic (land and property), and Aristophanic (income in money or in mobile values).
8. To a considerable extent the movements of rural culture and changes in rural mind and

personality are sequential — Homeric, Hesiodic and Aristophanic. This has occurred in earlier movements of the Western social system and is occurring in our own period.⁶

9. Our dominant farm thesis now is mobile values or money income from agriculture. We have moved again into an Aristophanic period.⁷
10. When such a period as this is reached in agriculture, the difference between the city and the country is primarily one of occupation and location and not one of basic values or basic personality. The rural mind is just like that of the city man. Jeffersonianism, or the theory that only worthy people live in the country, no longer applies. There tends to be about the same proportion of worthiness and unworthiness in both city and country.⁸

⁴ This is probably because the mind change is connected with movements of the family system. These movements are qua system and qua family, or partly self determinant and "voluntaristic." See Zimmerman, *Family and Civilization*, New York, 1948; *Family of Tomorrow*, New York, 1949.

⁷ See Griswold, *op. cit.*, Chs. V and VI; Walter Goldschmidt, *As You Sow*, New York, 1947; Geoffrey S. Shepherd, *Agricultural Price Control*, Ames, 1945; John D. Black, *Parity, Parity, Parity*, Cambridge, 1942; other studies by John Steinbeck, Carey McWilliams, etc.

⁸ See Anna Rochester, *Why Farmers Are Poor*, New York, 1940, for a pure Marxian interpretation of rural life. Disregarding criticism of Marxianism, that fact that the Rochester book could be written and read indicates the economic value approach in city and country. See also in Brunner, Sanders and Ensminger, *Farmers of the World*, New York, 1945, Chs. X, *passim*.

⁴ See for this particularly the study for England, France and the United States in A. Whitney Griswold, *Farming and Democracy*, New York, 1948, *passim*.

⁵ See Sorokin and Zimmerman in *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, N. Y., 1929, Part IV, for some of its elements. Also see Sorokin, Zimmerman and Galpin, *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Vols. I and II, Minneapolis, 1931-32.

Derivative and Interpretative Propositions

From these above hypotheses we may give a number of derivative and interpretative propositions.

Thus it is evident that we now live in a society which sees agriculture both in its Hesiodic or Jeffersonian experiences and in its Aristophanic or income-monopolistic phases. We are not clear in our minds as to the nature of the farmer and his basic personality. On the one hand he is the noble tiller of the soil and on the other he is the greedy person who is responsible for the continued extremely high cost of living.⁹

The difference in these ideas is expressed by the antagonism in Congress between the groups supporting the crop and price controls (the Farm Bureau group) and the others supporting the old Farm Security Administration or the present Farm Home Administration (the Farmers' Union Group). One favors the family farm as highlighted by the "Family Farming Act of 1947" and the other ("top tier" of farmers) favors higher and higher agrarian prices. "We want parity, not charity." This is reflected in every state and region from the quarrel over the Central Valley Project in California to the antagonism arising against New England politicians who spend all their time promoting crop restriction and high prices.

⁹ For this struggle see particularly Wesley McCune, *The Farm Bloc*, New York, 1943; Arthur Moore, *The Farmer and the Rest of Us*, New York, 1945; Ladd Haystead, *Meet the Farmers*, Boston, 1944.

In the Central Valley in California the difference is whether the new irrigation water shall be distributed to holdings of 160 acres or less—the Reclamation point of view, or to any size farms—the Army Engineers' point of view.

In New England the quarrel is beginning to develop as the farmers realize that parity prices stand for high costs of feed for cattle and poultry and the consumers who vote for the New England "commercial farm-minded" politicians find they are voting at least a self-imposed twenty per cent tax on their basic cost of living. In New England the basic cost of industry is labor, and the basic cost of labor is the necessities of life.

A part of this confusion about the farmer in our minds is due to the fact that basic personality organization in agriculture and rural life varies from region to region and within regions. We may speak of our Appalachian Ozarkian region as being primarily Homeric; our dairy and small farming areas as being more Hesiodic; our wealthy land districts such as the cornbelt, the Central Valley of California and the richer coastal plains in the South as becoming more and more purely Aristophanic.¹⁰

There are, of course, differences within every region, every state and every county. Recent studies indicate that the poorer and smaller farmers participate very little in

¹⁰ See, for instance, Carle C. Zimmerman, *American Regional Sociology*, Cambridge, 1947; and numerous studies by Carl C. Taylor and others of the "disadvantaged classes in American agriculture."

Farm Bureau activities, particularly agricultural extension work. The answer is, why should they! In the first place they have to push themselves in, and in the second, these activities yield little in actual cash money to them but form a high invisible tax upon them.

The circulation of Marxianism as an intellectual movement closely follows the Aristophanic mind in the rural districts.

Further, the struggle for extreme economic gain, to the exclusion of wider interests, is not only between farmers as a class and the other groups in the city but also within agriculture. Corn and wheat, for instance, are the basis of the diet of all our agriculturists as well as of our urban population. Consequently, extreme monopolies in the regions where these are produced forces the Aristophanic mind in the other regions, because mounting price levels for these are reflected in mounting feed and machinery costs. When the conflict becomes Aristophanic we note that the Dairymen's League in New York State is found guilty of monopoly practices (rigging the butter market Christmas 1946). This is expressed in the extremes to which price control is pushed. Items such as turkeys, onions, turpentine and wool and many others have these supports—ridiculous to the extreme. In 1942, for instance, parity prices put six million farmers on the payroll. However, what farmers receive from the government is small compared with the general rise in living costs affected by crop control. Griswold

estimates a twenty per cent rise in costs of necessities as against a direct outlay of ten per cent. I should say that indirect effects are at least twice the direct ones.

Most persons, including labor leaders, urban politicians and editors of our newspapers, do not understand this consequence of the developing agrarian Aristophanic mind. Neither do most farmers. If it were thoroughly understood, at least in its inflationary aspects, it would not, of course, exist.¹¹ Thus, while there are great elements of agriculture in which there is a higher proportion of social worthiness among the people there than in other rural and in urban districts, the dominating influence in agriculture is this Aristophanic mind.¹²

The ancient conception that only farmers are good belongs to a past era and a particular one. As cities developed from the Dark Ages, the semblances of virtue instilled by the teachings of the Dark Ages remained

¹¹ For general background see especially Melvin T. Copeland, *A Raw Commodity Revolution*. Harvard University Business School, 1938. A fiction exists in the United States that wealthy farmers (above \$10,000 per year) do not gain from parity prices; as a matter of fact, they gain most. Any business with assurance of 100% demand at stable good prices is a producer's paradise. Hence, after 15 years of parity prices we find forty per cent of our agricultural land, and more than forty per cent of our "good" agricultural land in farms of a thousand acres or more.

¹² Griswold quotes, evidently with approval, that this development has led to as great, if not the greatest, lobby in history. President Franklin D. Roosevelt attacked its manifestations in his fireside chat of September 7, 1942. Since then it has grown. See Griswold, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

rural and the new morale of the urban capitalistic system appeared in the cities. In the decaying years of the Roman-centered Western civilization, virtue of a family type, as recorded by the Church fathers, was more rural than urban. However, virtue as measured by several other conceptions, was still more urban. A "peasant" was a "pagan" even though he had a good family.¹³ The chief differences are marked by two facts. Order is obtained more easily in widely scattered rural populations than in urban. And, country people retain former practices longer than do city people. It makes no difference whether these former rural practices are "democratic" to quote Griswold, or autocratic, they persist longer.

In America now, with our "round-about" capitalistic processes, builded into a division of labor, no man monopolizes an occupation. Who grows wheat—the farmer, the tractor mechanic, the oil driller or the baker? The idea of unique goodness in agrarian occupations is a horse and buggy one. We must neither demean nor bemoan agriculture, nor any other legitimate occupation.

This explains for us why farmer-labor political cohesion in the United States now lasts over a much longer period than such alliances ordinarily do. The labor interests, see agriculture and the rural personality only through the minds of their dominant minorities—labor leaders.

¹³ See, for instance, Salvian *On the Government of God*, written C. 540 A. D.

Since these labor leaders do not understand the "Aristophanic mind" of the farmer, they give way to fictitious parity claims for farmers and push labor costs higher and higher. This raises these fictitious parity prices for farmers, so we are in a vicious inflationary circle. The farmer-labor cohesion can and will last until we have an informed labor leadership, or until the whole thing breaks up internally because of the pinched other groups in the society.

"Labor leaders" is used here as a general term to include the urban intellectual group nearest the working man. An industrial tycoon, a bishop and an editor of a newspaper is a labor leader in the same sense as a farm-machinery tycoon is a farm leader.

Thus, Truman defeated Dewey in part because the "time" was not yet ripe for a change and in part because the Republicans were merely asking for a ride on the old, but still running, merry-go-round. It will be very unfortunate for the country if the system breaks up internally and without conscious guidance and amelioration of our inner conflicts.¹⁴

Concluding Remarks

From these basic and derivative hypotheses many conclusions may be drawn. This paper could be extended endlessly. However, I want to

¹⁴ For a general theory of farmer-labor cohesion, see Sorokin and Zimmerman *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, New York, 1929, Chs. XIX and XX. However, these chapters do not deal with the specific case in which the dominant rural mind is Aristophanic.

bring it to a close with a few simple remarks.

Is rural life a system? Does it change and develop with the times as any other social system? Is the knowledge of these general traits of any value to man, or their lack, a disadvantage? The answer to these questions is yes.

While in certain times—not all past time—rural life has been a unique and self-contained system, that is no longer true. “Dominant” rural life today is part of a general roundabout capitalistic division-of-labor production system. As such, it merits no more grace and stands no higher in the eyes of God than any other part of the system.

While this is true generally, certain phases of rural life—the small farmer, the part-time farmer, the rural-non-farm resident, the fanny farmer and the urbe-in-rus peoples—form a unique and especially worthy social system. These peoples and their social systems perform a unique role in modern life—one both urban and rural. These groups represent the reserves tucked away for an emergency, a resting place for those peoples who want to live, at least part of the time, gently and decently and not violently. The fact that they are numerically superior to the Aristophanic farmer is of no consequence. They are the forgotten men and, individually, are content to remain so. Their own culture, built about gardening, non-commercial farming, part-time non-farm work, other assets and the 1-5 horsepower tractor farm units does not worry them because of its

neglect by outsiders. But it should worry the society in total.

In the long run, as the other groups either temporarily or permanently exhaust themselves, it is to this forgotten man system in rural life to which society must return for refreshment and replenishment. The Greek of today is not a descendant of the Aristophanic characters. Rather, he was a forgotten man of his time who kept out of the way of the violence of his more pederastic brethren.

In Toynbee's terminology these “little” people in rural life are *in* and *of* the society in that their outlook is middle-class and not proletarian. The Aristophanic farmer has adopted the proletarian mind, at least temporarily. He is *in* but *not of* the society. He wants parity prices—to Hell with the consequences. Of course the Agrarian Bureaucracy spends little time telling him of these consequences.

If our society is not interested in an amicable settlement of the struggle between the dominant Aristophanic farmer and the other interests in society—for the good of the middle class and the conflicting groups themselves, as it does not yet appear to be, it should at least be anxious to promote the purely separate small rural farm forgotten system. This costs little and harms no one. Why should we fight the farm security and farm home administrations? Rather should we not castigate the local officials and politicians who totally neglect this little commercialized rural system.

If the agrarian officials were to teach every family proper home canning, give them a small tractor outfit and reseed every acre in their domains not being cultivated in forests—if it should do all these things tomorrow it would not affect material production or prices in agriculture one iota. Economically the changes would be nil. Socially, the gains would be of incalculable value.

This is the problem which worries thoughtful men—whether Peterson in *Forward to the Land*, Griswold in *Farming and Democracy*, Louis Bromfield in his writings, and hundreds of others, no matter how well

or ill informed they may be or how adequately or inadequately they may express their vague feelings. Should we not have some place in the United States where a large middle class can conserve its strength? It is a problem of keeping a large group *in* and *of* a society.¹⁵

The chief contribution of such implemented development would be family life, that much neglected aspect of all our American social systems, whether urban, rural, or Aristophanic.

¹⁵ Parts of this "haven of refuge" thesis and its increase appeared earlier in Zimmerman *Changing Community*, New York, 1939, Ch. XIV *et passim*.

RESEARCH NOTES

Edited by Robin M. Williams, Jr.

THE RISE AND FALL OF RURAL COMMUNITY INCORPORATION IN NORTH CAROLINA

This note is intended to point up certain implications of a curious gap in the history of research in rural community organization. Anyone searching the literature pertaining to rural community organization will eventually run across some reference to a bill passed by the North Carolina Legislature of 1917 which permitted rural communities to incorporate. With this bill on its statutes, North Carolina was the only state allowing the incorporation of rural communities on such broad terms.

The extensiveness of this Act can be found in Section 6 of the Law which provided that:

At each meeting of the registered voters of a community, they shall have the right to adopt, amend, or repeal ordinances, provided such action is not inconsistent with the laws of North Carolina or the United States, concerning the following subjects: the public roads of the community; the public schools of the community; regulations intended to promote public health; the police protection; the abatement of nuisances; the care of paupers, aged, or infirm persons; to encourage the coming of new settlers; the regulation of vagrancy; aids to the enforcement of state and national laws; the collection of community taxes; the establishment and support of public libraries, parks, halls, playgrounds, fairs, and other agencies of recreation, education, health, music, art, and morals.¹

During the Third National Life Conference, held in Springfield, Massachusetts, 1920, several comments were made relating to this Law. E. H. Ryder from Michigan Agricultural College, while referring to municipal corporations, said,

The most interesting effort in this line is that of North Carolina in an act to incorporate 'rural communities'.²

H. Paul Douglas, Community Services, Incorporated, said,

The epoch-making significance of this law is generally recognized. It constitutes the most thorough-going current example of a theoretically complete legal recognition of the community as such. Any rural area, either with or without a town or village center, may take on, not only the ordinary governmental powers and functions, but also engage in a wide range of co-operative economic enterprises. This is a far-reaching idea, but only a few communities have yet acted under the law. As yet it is chiefly a sign of promise.³

What were some other references made to this act by social scientists? Carl C. Taylor wrote in his basic text that,

This act is of far-reaching significance as a precedent, for it sets the stage for the establishment of a rural municipality as soon as a community has developed to the point of knowing what it wants and should have.⁴

Comments such as the above focused national attention on North Carolina with reference to social progress in rural areas. Rural sociologists of that day, and for a decade or two later, proclaimed this legislation as one of the milestones in rural progress. Yet, an incident which was the

¹ *Proceedings Third National Country Life Conference—Springfield, Mass., 1920.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1921, p. 111.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 117-118.

³ Carl C. Taylor, *Rural Sociology* (Rev. Ed.; New York. Harper & Bros., 1933), pp. 571-572.

⁴ *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1917*, Chap. cxxviii.

cause of such laudatory comment has never been thoroughly studied. In fact, although this Act was repealed in 1923, there is, to the writers' knowledge, no statement in sociological literature announcing it.⁵

In view of these circumstances, it seems desirable to: (1) insert into the literature a general statement which may clarify some of the issues that gave rise to this legislation, (2) indicate the reasons for the repeal of this legislation, (3) show the status of those communities that were incorporated under the Law.

The data for this study were obtained by interviewing the Secretary of State and searching the records in his office; corresponding with the county historians of the counties within which the incorporated communities were located; interviewing various staff members of the Agricultural Experiment Station, Extension Service and Department of Instruction; searching the files of the *News and Observer* as well as the *Progressive Farmer*; and visiting the "remains" of the original incorporated communities.

Due to the lack of contemporaneous research, insufficient data preclude a precise statement of the forces responsible for this legislation. Thomas Walter Bickett, Governor of North Carolina from 1917-1920, included the incorporation of rural communities as one of the nine points in his agricultural program as outlined to the General Assembly of 1917 in his inaugural address.⁶ It was this legislative body that passed the bill. However, "who" or "what" promoted the interest and action preceding the passage of the legislation cannot be clearly ascertained.

One theory is that from the birth of the Country Life Commission to the United States entry into World War I the rural

people of North Carolina were experiencing a strong social movement which was attempting to promote self-improvement. The seeds of rural community incorporation are believed to have germinated there. When one reads Governor Bickett's agricultural program in the light of what has happened since 1933, one must conclude that he was about twenty years ahead of his time. With this in mind, it appears that the election of this progressive governor climaxed that particular "unorganized" movement and partially explains the passage of the bill permitting rural communities to become legal entities.

From the year of its ratification, 1917, through to the year it was repealed, 1923, twenty-one rural communities applied for and were granted an incorporation charter as prescribed for in the Law.

In the course of thirty-two years, the organizational structure of one-third of the original "progressive" communities has completely disappeared. Only about one-half of the surviving ones are showing any "signs of life". Two of the communities (Castalia and Saluda, population 341 and 539 respectively), are incorporated as civil units. Two (Lynn and Winter Park-East Wilmington, population 827 and 4,600 respectively) are listed as unincorporated villages by the United States Census of 1940. Four (Lowe's Grove, Moyock, Rama and Wenona) are listed by Rand and McNally (no population listed for Lowe's Grove and Rama; 500 for Moyock and 50 for Wenona).

There are six (Creek, Green's Creek, Macedonia, Philadelphia, Sunny View and White Oak) which are functioning mainly as school and/or church-centered locality groups.

One of the authors visited most of the fourteen surviving communities during the summer of 1947, and interviewed a few of the older residents and leaders in each of them. It is significant that in most of the cases local testimony is that the idea of incorporating the individual community was conceived and carried through to the charter-granting stage by only a few members of that community. While rural sociologists

⁵ *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1923*. Chap. cxxxvi. (As recent as 1942, Dwight Sanderson referred to this Act as if it were still on the statutes in his *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, p. 460.)

⁶ From the Inaugural Address of Governor Thomas Walter Bickett, January 11, 1917.

were praising the legislation, the majority of the people who were actually involved either knew nothing about the incorporation of their community or, at most, considered it uneventful. There is some evidence that conflict developed among the "leaders" in several communities over the issue of incorporation; whether or not this was a "true" or "derivative" issue could not be substantiated at this late date.

What events led up to the actual repeal of this significant piece of legislation? From the turn of the century up to the World War I there was an apparent tendency in North Carolina for the county to break up into small districts particularly as related to the financing of education. A number of such districts were chartered by the General Assembly and made independent of the county authorities. A still larger number were authorized to vote special taxes to supplement the county school term. Only in this way could they have good school facilities in the period preceding World War I. This point was emphasized by the Superintendent of Public Instruction when he wrote,

The principals or superintendents of these local tax or special charter schools being in many instances professionally superior to the county superintendent, developed their district schools into independent units, while the county as a whole had a distressingly poor system of schools without unity and with poor supervision for the most part.⁷

The majority of the persons who were available for interview on this entire subject of incorporation were of the opinion that one of the main reasons for the incorporation of the rural communities was to provide better education for the rural children.

Now, at the same time these rural com-

munities were seeking incorporation, there was already in evidence a tendency to make the county the unit of administration which, as it turned out, developed into a movement to bring all the small local tax or special charter districts under county control. In the office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction the records show that at that time a well organized system of schools on the county unit plan, having both a superintendent and a professional assistant, could be maintained at lower per capita cost per pupil than could a poorly organized system of schools on the independent district plan. It was believed by the Superintendent of Instruction that the small local tax district detached from the county system was, for the most part, a hindrance to the general educational program and ought to be eliminated.⁸

The General Assembly of 1921 made it possible for the counties to secure funds to erect buildings in rural districts by creating "A Special Building Fund", of five million dollars. This paved the way for a county unit system that could make better schools possible for all the children of the county.⁹

From all indication, these trends and forces culminated in the repeal of the Incorporation Act in 1923. Since the incorporated limits of the rural communities were identical to a school district, it was believed that these individual districts had to be eliminated for the future efficiency of the county unit.

Some of these so-called communities were artificial districts and lost all *raison d'être* with the repeal of the law. The strongest survivals today are those communities which were firmly established as locality groups several decades before the ratification of the Incorporation Act of 1917.

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⁷ E. C. Brooks—*Biennial Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction—North Carolina, 1920-1921, 1921-1922*, Educational Publication No. 61, p. 13, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Raleigh, N. C.

⁸ *Ibid.*, chap. III.

⁹ *Ibid.*, chap. IV.

CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

Edited by Walter C. McKain, Jr.†

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

(* Indicates bulletins reviewed in this issue. Numbers appearing by each review refer to corresponding number in the list of publications.)

1. Alleger, Daniel E. and Tharp, Max M. *Rural Land Ownership in Florida*. Florida A.E.S. Bul. 460. 75 pp. Gainesville, June 1949.
2. Anderson, W. A. *A Study of the Values in Rural Living, Part II. The Opinions of Youth and Adults*. Cornell A.E.S. Mem. 286. 109 pp. Ithaca, August 1949.
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4. Anderson, W. A. *A Study of the Values in Rural Living, Part IV. Rural Living Opinion Scale*. Cornell A.E.S. Pub. 22. 8 pp. Ithaca, September 1949.
- *5. Bertrand, Alvin L. and Hitt, Homer L. *Radio Habits in Rural Louisiana*. Louisiana A.E.S. Bul. 440. 51 pp. Baton Rouge, September 1949.
- *6. Carter, Robert M. *Rural Population Characteristics of Hinesburg*. Vermont A.E.S. Bul. 552. 36 pp. Burlington, July 1949.
7. Committee on Research in Medical Economics. *Are Blue Shield Plans Satisfactory?* 23 pp. 1790 Broadway. New York, June 1949.
- *8. Davies, Vernon. *Farm Population Trends in Washington*. Washington A.E.S. Bul. 507. 35 pp. Pullman, May 1949.
9. DeTurk, E. E., Ed. *Freedom from Want: A Survey of the Possibilities of Meeting the World's Food Needs*. *Chronica Botanica*, Vol. 11, No. 4. 73 pp. Stechert-Hafner, Inc. New York, Summer 1948. \$2.00.
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- *12. Farrell, F. D. *Kansas Rural Institutions: V. Three Effective Rural Churches*. Kansas A.E.S. Circ. 256. 35 pp. Manhattan, June 1949.
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15. Geddes, Arthur and Spaven, F. D. N. *The Highlands and Isles: Their Regional Planning*. The Outlook Tower, Castlehill. 53 pp. Edinburgh, Scotland, 1949. 5 shillings.
16. Grigsby, S. Earl and Hoffsommer, Harold. *Rural Social Organization of*

† Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.

- Frederick County, Maryland.* Maryland A.E.S. Bul. A-51. 115 pp. College Park, March 1949. To be reviewed in next issue.
- *17. Gruener, Jennette R. *Nursing Needs and Resources in Missouri.* Missouri A.E.S. Res. Bul. 437. 67 pp. Columbia, March 1949.
- *18. Hay, Donald G. and others. *Rural Organization in Three Maine Towns.* Maine Ext. Bul. 391. 56 pp. Orono, June 1949.
- *19. Hepple, Lawrence M. *Selective Service Rejectees in Rural Missouri, 1940-1948.* Missouri A.E.S. Res. Bul. 439. 19 pp. Columbia, April 1949.
20. Hill, Kate Adele and others. *The Lubbock County Study.* Texas Agr. Ext. Serv. and U. S. Dept. Agr. 30 pp. College Station, 1948.
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- *22. Kaufman, Harold F. *Participation in Organized Activities in Selected Kentucky Localities.* Kentucky A.E.S. Bul. 528. 55 pp. Lexington, February 1949.
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- *24. Lindstrom, David E. *Rural Leaders Want Modern Rural Schools.* Illinois A.E.S. Pub. RSM-23. 11 pp. Urbana, January 1949.
- *25. Lionberger, Herbert F. *Low-Income Farmers in Missouri. Their Contacts with Potential Sources of Farm and Home Information.* Missouri A.E.S. Res. Bul. 36 pp. Columbia, May 1949.
26. Martin, T. T. *Role of the 4-H Club Group in Developing Balanced Youth on the Farm.* Missouri Agr. Ext. Serv. Study 5. 21 pp. Columbia, June 1949.
- *27. Mayo, Selz C. *The Young, the Old, and the Mature.* North Carolina A.E.S. Bul. 365. 22 pp. Raleigh, June 1949.
28. Mississippi State Board of Health. *The Mississippi Doctor Shortage and What To Do About It.* 24 pp. Jackson, 1946.
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32. Saulnier, R. J. *Costs and Returns on Farm Mortgage Lending by Life Insurance Companies, 1945-1947.* National Bur. of Econ. Res. 55 pp. 1819 Broadway, New York, August 1949. \$1.00.
33. Schoff, Leonard Hastings. *Farm Surpluses: Causes and Correctives.* Columbia University. 29 pp. New York, 1949.
- *34. Sheeley, Arlene, Landis, Paul H. and Davies, Vernon. *Marital and Family Adjustments in Rural and Urban Families of Two Generations.* Washington A.E.S. Bul. 506. 26 pp. Pullman, May 1949.
35. Timmons, John F. and Barlowe, Raleigh. *Farm Ownership in the Midwest.* Iowa A.E.S. Res. Bul. 361. 110 pp. Ames, June 1949.

36. Tomars, Adolph S. *Ethical Frontiers*. New York Society for Ethical Culture. 39 pp. New York, 1949. 20 cents.
- *37. U. S. Bur. of Labor Statistics. *The Gift of Freedom: A Study of the Economic and Social Status of Wage Earners in the United States*. 142 pp. Washington, 1949.
38. U. S. Dept. Agr. Ext. Serv. *Educational Work on Public Policy Problems and Their Relationship to Agriculture*. 75 pp. Washington, July 1949.
39. U. S. Dept. Agr. Ext. Serv. *Farm People and Social Security*. Circ. 458. 17 pp. Washington, June 1949.
40. Virginia University of. *Homes of Tomorrow—and Today*. Ext. Div. Bul. 104. 10 pp. Charlottesville, February 1949.
41. Virginia, University of. *So You're Planning a Project*. Ext. Div. Bul. 106. 6 pp. Charlottesville, April 1949.
- *42. Washington State Dept. of Health. *Washington State Hospital Study*. 79 pp. Seattle, 1949.
43. Watrous, Roberta C. and McNeill, John M. *Rural Community Organization: A List of References*. U. S. Dept. Agr. Library. List No. 46. 51 pp. Washington, May 1949.

Rural Organization

[18] *The Rural Organization in Three Maine Towns* was analyzed. The towns were chosen to represent different agricultural and organizational patterns. Comparisons were drawn among the three towns with respect to channels of information and the kinds of organized groups including locality groups, institutions, formal organizations, agencies, and informal groups. Leaders in each of the towns were studied, their roles scrutinized, and the leader-follower relations outlined. The characteris-

tics of the residents of the towns were described with reference to group participation. The methods and programs of the Maine Agricultural Extension Service in these towns were also analyzed.

[22] A study of the *Participation in Organized Activities* of 2,832 adults was made recently in Kentucky. Sample populations from seven open-country areas and two urban centers were used. It was found that (1) many lacked organized contacts, one-third did not even belong to a church; (2) great differences in participation existed among the various groupings; and (3) there was a decided concentration of leadership in the upper educational and income levels. Participation in organized activities was related to education, length of residence in the community, farming practices, economic status, social rank, age and sex of participant. Greatest participation was found among urban residents and those in the open country with higher educational and income levels.

[25] The contacts that low income farmers in Missouri have with potential sources of farm and home information are limited. Only a small proportion belonged to farmers' organizations or dealt with a county agent or vocational agricultural teacher. Action agencies such as the Production and Marketing Administration and the Farmers' Home Administration reached some of the farmers. Farm income and the schooling of the operator seemed to be related to the number of personal contacts. Some of the impersonal contacts such as farm journals, newspapers, bulletins and the radio were compared and the factors related to their use were analyzed.

Population

[6] Hinesburg is one of the better farming communities in Vermont. The *Rural Population Characteristics of Hinesburg* were secured in May, 1945, and again in December, 1946. In the first part of this bulletin the traits and activities of the Hinesburg population are described. The

final section discusses the changes that took place in the community during the twenty months' interval. Several pictures contain rural action scenes.

[8] A bulletin from Washington State discusses *Farm Population Trends* in relation to the welfare and stability of farm households. Some of the factors considered are national backgrounds, migratory movements, family composition and marital status, educational attainment, and prospects for future growth of the farm population. It was found that farmers and farm managers were the least migratory of all occupational groups but that farm laborers were very migratory. Suburbanization and part-time farming have increased markedly along with a decrease in the number of farms and full-time farmers.

[19] The rates of rejection for military service in Missouri were examined. Differences in the rejection rates for Negroes and whites, rural and urban areas, and areas with differing levels of living were presented.

[27] Comparisons are drawn between the rural and urban populations of North Carolina and between the populations of North Carolina and the United States. The factors that affect the age and sex composition of the rural population are analyzed and the significance of a changing population composition in North Carolina is discussed.

Rural Health

[17] A committee was appointed in 1947 to study the *Nursing Needs and Resources in Missouri*. This committee analyzed the present and future needs for nurses, training resources, and ways and means of recruiting student nurses. Recommendations to increase the supply and training of both professional and non-professional nurses were made as follows: (1) Coordinate and strengthen efforts to recruit both professional and non-professional student nurses, (2) Develop more facilities for training them, (3) Safeguard and enrich educational and

clinical content of training courses, (4) Broaden the base of financial support, (5) Improve the economic status of the nurse, and (6) Establish an overall planning committee to consider priority of need, direct and plan research, and evaluate experiments and progress.

[42] *The Washington State Hospital Study* is a guide to expanding hospital service in Washington. General hospital service areas are delineated and the population for each area is estimated. Area and individual project priorities are set up for general hospital expansion. The more specialized hospital services are also discussed and a plan for providing all hospital services is presented. A bibliography of selected references is included.

Rural Church

[12] The fifth report on *Kansas Rural Institutions* describes the successful operation of three rural churches located in different type-of-farming areas in the state. These churches grew out of local conditions and needs and their methods of operation differ. However, each one is rendering religious, social, and agricultural service to the community. They cooperate with other institutions, both religious and secular, in order to improve the life of their respective communities. The members feel that their churches (1) promote the well-being of children, (2) develop wholesome social relationships for youth, (3) provide methods for individual and group expressions of religious impulses and (4) foster a sense of community in the area resulting in an improvement of human relations.

[23] *Rural Churches in Kentucky, 1947*, is a study of 1,084 town and country churches and 86 informal religious groups in 27 counties representing the Bluegrass and Mountain Regions. It gives information on membership, leadership, auxiliary groups, finance and programs. Two distinct types of churches were found. One is the Bluegrass county-seat church with over 300 members, a full-time resident

pastor, Sunday School, youths', women's and men's programs, leadership training courses and cooperative activities with other church and community groups. The other is the country mountain church with less than 100 members, a part-time minister, preaching services one Sunday per month, no specialized programs except possibly a Sunday School and no contact with other local groups. Intermediate types were found in the mountain county-seat church, the village church and the country church in the Bluegrass counties. A variety of tables and charts supplement the text.

Farm Labor

[10] Mechanization of cotton production may displace a large proportion of the sharecroppers and one-family-farm-renter farmers in Mississippi. A study of 298 white and 292 Negro families living in plantation areas was made to determine the training and work experience of the labor force and to examine the factors that might facilitate the movement of workers to other occupations and locations.

Miscellaneous

[5] A recent bulletin, *Radio Habits in Rural Louisiana*, describes the listening patterns and program preferences of the farm radio audience in selected areas of that state. Data were obtained from 1,268 schedules taken in a field survey and are presented in 24 graphs and 2 tables. It was found that (1) there were definite times which were most popular for listening to the radio, (2) the favorite daytime program is news, but at night music, comedy and variety programs are preferred, (3) a

fifteen-minute program in which two or more persons take part and which originates from the farm is liked best, (4) homemaking and health were the most desired topics for future broadcasts.

[34] Anonymous questionnaires were distributed to women students at the State College of Washington and their mothers and replies were received from 1,100 daughters and 752 mothers. The opinions of rural and urban daughters and mothers were scrutinized on a number of topics including happiness in the parental home, sex roles, age at marriage, the importance of children in marriage, and divorce.

[37] *The Gift of Freedom* was written to make known, especially to workers in other countries, the essential facts relating to the well-being of American workers. Their economic and social welfare is discussed under six main headings: (1) The work force, (2) productive capacity, (3) purchasing power and living standards, (4) social security, (5) labor organization and (6) civil rights. Tables, pictures, and colored graphs supplement the text. A bibliography and index are appended.

[24] A questionnaire entitled "What Farmers Want Their Schools to Teach" was sent to 3,000 Illinois rural leaders, slightly less than one-third of whom responded. Their opinions on rural teacher needs, school district organization and a number of other topics were analyzed. When the leaders were classified by sex, residence, occupation, schooling and age, it was found that there was a good representation from each group.

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Otis Durant Duncan

Education and Living, Parts I-IV, Vols. I-II.

By Ralph Borsodi. Suffern, New York: School of Living, (Devin-Adair Company, New York, Trade Distributors), 1948. Pp. xiii + 719. \$7.50.

Seeing modern man as un-human, in-human, and sub-human as the result of the competitive, materialistic, commercial, industrial and urban ideals which prevail, Ralph Borsodi sets forth a counteracting philosophy of education and living. He foresees present conditions as going from bad to worse, the prospects being frightening; as for example, by the year 2,000, at present rates one in 1.7 persons will have to be institutionalized at some time for insanity. Industrialization and urbanization are the chief causes of the social breakdown; decentralization, the chief hope of change of direction.

The four books are titled education, mis-education, right education, and re-education. Consistent with his concern for decentralization and self-sufficiency, Borsodi advocates an education more family and community—or neighborhood—centered, less official, formalized and standardized than that of the present. The tools of learning and the "eternal verities," rather than the cultural milieu or folkways as he terms it, are the concerns of the schools. Most educators would be heartily in accord with many of his recommendations if means could be found for administering them. In these complex and swiftly changing days, not so much education may be left to chance and good intentions.

Major attention is given to the family, with some hopes expressed contrary to present trends, as in relation to the role of women, discipline, the economic functions of the family, etc. Greatly to reduce the frustrations of the individual in the atomized family, there is advocated a minimum of three to eight children and eight to ten adults in the normal family group.

The reader can but wonder why there is no comparison with the social problems in those parts of the world where urbanization and industrialization do not dominate. Greater selectivity, and that including not only depressing facts and dire predictions, as a background to a philosophy of education and living expressed in fewer words might have made for a wider reading public.

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Modern American Society: Readings in the Problems of Order and Change. Edited by Kingsley Davis, Harry C. Brede-meier, and Marion J. Levy, Jr. New York: Rinehart Co., Inc., 1949. Pp. xviii + 734. \$4.50.

This book is intended to "help the student understand what gives order and disorder, unity and disunity, to our society as a whole." (Preface, p. v.). It is a collection of excerpts, speeches and articles ranging from the Declaration of Independence to *The Communist Manifesto*, from materials by William Z. Foster to Woodrow Wilson, all interspersed among papers by academic anthropologists, economists, educational psychologists and sociologists. Then, there are articles by college presidents, industrialists, jurists, government office holders, the Dies Committee, and others who represent points of view of various segments of the American People.

Aside from the usual mental confusion which one incurs in reading such a book, the principal question raised in a critic's mind is, How can any collection of readings "allergic" to rural life purport to give students an understanding of what produces order and unity in American society when our great cities are almost as dependent upon the weather predictions in Dr. Caldwell's *Syrup of Pepsin Almanac* and the

signs of the Zodiac as are the farmers? Lip service is barely paid to the dependence of cities upon farmers as breeding stock for their population, but, even then, their functions in the class structure of American Society are either tacitly assumed or conveniently disregarded.

An author, or a battery of editors, has a right to define the scope of a book as he likes. Once he has done that, it is his obligation to complete his job. A book on Modern American Society, like it or not, should take in everybody who composes any appreciable part of the social structure. If rural people are not a part of "our society as a whole," it is time somebody found out about it.

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A. N. J. den Hollander, *Nederzettingen en—problemen in de groote Hongaarsche Laagvlakte.—Een Europeesch "Frontier" Gebied.* Amsterdam: J. M. Meulenhoff, 1947. Pp. 188. f12.50.

Professor den Hollander is already known in this country by his studies of Southern mountaineers and poor white. The present study of settlement patterns on the low plains of Hungary deals with some very strange forms of rural social organization and curious phenomena of social retrogression. Apart from the valuable information concerning approximately one half of Hungary's territory and population which this book contains—it represents a contribution to the typology of rural and urban communities and to the general theory of social change. It shows the importance of political events for changes in the physical environment of man and thereby the indispensability of historical research for the understanding of present-day European rural society. Since the book, written in Dutch, is not accessible to many of our readers, a somewhat detailed abstract may be of interest.

The Hungarian low plain or *Alföld* is located east of the Danube and is drained by

the river Theiss and its tributaries. It is an area of peculiar settlement patterns, not found elsewhere in Europe: the open country is sprinkled with isolated farmsteads (*tanya*) among which are located, at great intervals, like islands, large towns and cities, many of which are not really urban communities but rather giant villages. As a rule, the *tanys* do not form independent local communities but belong to the towns and cities; the latter thus comprise very large areas of open country within their administrative boundaries, their population consisting to varying but significant degree of persons engaged in agriculture and other primary production. (The community of Debrecen, for example, with a population of 135,000 in 1930 had a territory of 957 km² which is more than the area of New York City. Even its inner city-like core had about 15 percent agricultural population.)

There exists a unique sociological relation between farmstead and town: when the *tanya* farmer retires on account of age he moves to town, where the family owns a house. Here he lives with his grandchildren who go to the town school. His oldest son, who now operates the farm, will come to town on market days and stay at the family house. In some cases the entire *tanya* household—except a hired hand who takes care of the livestock—will move to town for the winter. The *tanya* house is thus regarded as a temporary dwelling and therefore less well furnished and of poorer construction than the town house. Only poor farmers, whose number has increased during the last decades, will live permanently on the *tanya*, since they are not able to maintain a double domicile. How this institution came into existence is the main problem of den Hollander's study. Adopting some of the ideas of the Hungarian Györfy, our author explains the present settlement pattern as the result of various factors, partly as a carry-over from the half-nomadic culture of the early Magyars and partly as a consequence of the Turkish rule.

The ancient Magyars alternated between summer pasture in the hills and winter quarters in the plains. Eventually, the winter settlements became their permanent habitats. They consisted of a concentration of irregularly placed houses without gardens in the center and of *kertes* or fenced-in yards with stables and barns on the periphery. Women, children, and old people lived in the houses, while the men remained with the livestock in the *kertes*. According to den Hollander, who follows Györfy in this point, the *kert* is the beginning of the *tanya* (p. 21, 30). However, the evolution of the latter occurred only after the Turkish rule, i.e. mainly during the 19th century.

Under the Turks, who subjected the peasants to a harsh feudal regime, many Magyars took refuge in the towns and villages, which, being somewhat fortified and often under the immediate authority of the Sultan, offered protection against plundering and deportation etc. Thus many old villages were absorbed into larger towns by a process of consolidation—the origin of the “giant villages” or farmer-cities. (p. 23) While this concentration of population took place, the open country changed its character: woods were destroyed, dust bowls developed, roads disappeared, flood control and drainage were neglected, swamps formed and in some places alkalization occurred; malaria, typhoid and dysentery plagued the country; the former park-landscape of the Alföld became the *steppe* or *pusta*—a man-made wilderness. What agriculture had developed gave way to an extensive grazing economy. The *steppe* fell back into a kind of frontier condition where various more or less nomadic peoples from the lower Danube valley and the Balkans, together with near-savage Magyar herders and robbers led a life not unlike that of the American “Wild West”. (p. 25 ff and Chapter II)

The re-population of the *pusta* began after the liberation from the Turks, and it is during this recent period—the 18th and 19th century—that the present *tanya* sys-

tem developed; it was mainly the result of a “swarming out” of peasants from the towns onto the now pacified open range. (pp. 44, 54 ff).

In addition, many new communities were founded by the government. The Magyars had been so reduced that the Hapsburgs induced Germans and other foreign colonists to settle in the Alföld. This period of resettlement and reclamation was accompanied by several changes in the structure of rural society. Communal property in peasant villages disappeared, emancipation of the serfs led to an ecological differentiation: the higher and more arid lands were settled by family farmers who specialized in wheat production, while the river bottoms, now protected by the most elaborate system of dikes in Europe, became the preferred location of large estates with a plantation-like economy.

There are, as den Hollander points out, many phases and types of *tanya* development, and many problems are still unsolved. But on the whole it is certain that the *tanya* is essentially a *kert* transplanted into the open country. Certain cases which den Hollander describes show this quite convincingly. Den Hollander emphasizes that the majority of *tanya* dwellers were, at the time of his study, living in poverty and social isolation and that the *tanya* had become in many respects an obstacle to economic progress (p. 71). These problems and the reform proposals are thoroughly discussed in the fourth chapter. The second chapter contains a discussion of the *pusta* development. Chapter III deals with the development and morphology of the towns and cities. Contrary to most European cities, the most modern parts in these Hungarian cities are to be found in the center, while the peripheral areas, though the *kertes* have given way to permanent residential dwellings, still retain many rural traits.

Den Hollander discusses the interrelation between the *tanya* problem and the broader problems of municipal reorganization and land reform, which were still un-

solved at the outbreak of the second World War. Numerous photographs and maps convey a very vivid picture of this strange region. The author has a keen eye for sociologically relevant facts concerning family life, social stratification, attitudes etc. Very interesting are his remarks on the influences of the enlightenment and of the Romantic movement on the ideas of Western European writers and poets about the *pusta* and her inhabitants; here again many parallels can be drawn with the "Wild West". In the 1930's a rural reform movement arose in which Hungarian sociologists and sociographers actively participated. As den Hollander describes it, this movement had some similarity with the agrarian socialist movement in Tsarist Russia but perhaps even more in common with the earlier Rural Life movement in this country.

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The Economic Problems of Forestry in the Appalachian Region. By William A. Duerr. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949. 317 pp. \$5.00.

The author deals with the forestry economic problems of the Appalachian Region in a stimulating and well-written style while presenting a thorough analysis of this major forestry problem area. Duerr states, "This book is aimed at defining the field of the economics of forestry and outlining the economic problems of forestry as background for research. Its ultimate purpose is to aid in solving the forestry problems of the people by encouraging better understanding and more pointed research in attacking these problems. The book deals specifically with the Appalachian Region—the five southern Appalachian states of Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia—around 1940. But the theoretical issues proposed have wider applicability, and the point of view taken may be of general interest to those concerned with forest-resource management. In a sense, therefore, the Appalachian Region and the con-

text chosen are used merely for convenience in providing concrete illustration of principles."

The book contains enough practical application for the "field forester" and a sufficient amount of theoretical economics to keep the "arm chair foresters" contented.

However, of what worth is it to the rural sociologist? Duerr realizes that forestry must be considered in relation to all segments of industry and the entire population. He discusses the economic problems of forestry as maladjustments of (1) people and the land; (2) forest-land management; (3) timber management; (4) marketing of timber products; and (5) consumption of forest products.

"All forestry problems are problems of the people. . . They are problems concerning the relationships of people and land" (Chapter II). This is not confined to rural people alone "because urban people" also "are concerned with the capacity of forests to provide industrial raw materials, consumer's goods, protection to vital resources like water and soil, a place of recreation, and income to labor and to capital."

The term *people and the land* is applied specifically "to the characteristics of the people as individuals and as social communities, to the structure of the local economy as it is evidenced in the manner of living and level of living of the people, and to the direct socio-economic outcome of the relation of people and land as factors of production. . . ."

In dealing with the problems associated with population and general land-use Duerr considers the "high ratio of population to resources" as a basic causal factor in the problems arising from the "underemployment of rural people" which is a major concomitant of the exploitation of both people and forests in the region. Over the entire region the low indices of education and public health are of major significance, and, unless some remedial steps are taken and results are experienced, the economic problems in forestry will remain with us.

There are some regrettable features, one being that most of the data are of pre-war vintage, and the other is the omission of an annotated bibliography. The author accounts for the first by labeling his book as a description of the 1940 situation, but the second omission should not have occurred. It would have added considerably to an important contribution to a greatly neglected field of study.

This book can be used profitably as supplementary reading in courses which deal with land-use and population problems.

FRANK A. SANTOPOLO.

North Carolina State College.

The Hospital in Contemporary Life. Edited by Nathanael W. Faxon. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949. Pp. 288. \$5.00.

Organized health service has gained an increasing importance in our modern social pattern, and has met with wide interest among sociologists. At present several research projects of this kind are under way for different rural regions of this country so that a book dealing with the role of the hospital in contemporary life can count on being cordially welcomed by rural sociologists and social workers.

It is always with a great deal of pleasure that one meets medical men writing about the broad human problems of their profession in the humanistic tradition of the great 19th-century pioneers of modern medicine. For this tradition implies not only a well rounded style following classical models, a genuine sense of moral responsibility, and a sympathetic understanding for the social and personal significance of religion but also the ability of reaching the layman without stooping down to cheap popularization. If this was to be the primary merit of the present volume, the learned director of the Massachusetts General Hospital and his associates, all of whom are members of the Harvard faculty, would seem to have succeeded in bringing the hospital and its problems closer to a wide reading public.

The social scientist, however, might wish

to find more specific information on the various topics treated in the eight chapters, such as the history of hospital service, the social significance of pain and relief from pain, the psychological implications of illness and its cure, the clinical education of the physician, the organization of medical research, or public control and economics of hospitals. He might have gladly dispensed with so many pages on medical techniques, the elements of neurology buttressed with striking case histories, the domestic problems of Harvard Medical School, the need for research facilities, and occasional, unsubstantiated, moralizing, if only the essential questions had been covered more fully.

As it stands, Dr. Faxon's collection of essays, which nowhere mentions the pressing problems of rural hospital service, will offer little more to the rural sociologist than a few suggestions and interesting opinions, some valuable references to facts and figures, and perhaps a stimulus to take up himself the one or other problem that seems to require more careful study.

E. K. FRANCIS.

University of Notre Dame.

Adolescent Character and Personality. By Robert J. Havighurst and Hilda Taba. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949. Pp. x + 315. \$4.00.

This is by the Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago, in which some fifteen persons from different disciplines have collaborated. The locale of the study is a community known as Prairie City, which is regarded as representative of small midwestern cities of 5,000 to 10,000 population. It was chosen because of its balance of industry and commerce, distribution of ethnic and income groups, and freedom from seasonal fluctuations in population. Its subjects were all available 16-year olds in the community, 68 boys and 76 girls. Because of the high proportions of dropouts from school, the authors make reservations on the representativeness of the sample for the lower classes. The nature of the problem, some of the

measures, and a few of the hypotheses link the project with the Hartshorne and May Character Education Inquiry of twenty years ago, but its multi-disciplinary execution, the catholicity of the intellectual tools, and the sophistication of the analysis mark the study as plowing virgin tundra.

The study defines "Character" as a composite of moral traits, including honesty, responsibility, loyalty, moral courage, and friendliness. Following the recommendations of Hartshorne and May, attention is focused upon reputation ratings by age-mates, teachers, Sunday school teachers, school principals, scout leaders, and employers rather than upon overt behavior as the major index of character. The chief concern is with the extent to which character is influenced by (1) the value systems of the groups to which individuals belong, or are related; (2) the quality of emotional relations with parents, age-mates, and adults; (3) individual values, interests, and goals; (4) ability to intellectualize problems of conduct; and (5) other individual personality factors, drives, physical make-up, intelligence, self-adjustment, and dispositions toward others. Data on character reputation were obtained by the use of various instruments and test devised for the study, although some doubt is expressed as to the immediate applicability of certain ones.

A detailed study is made of adolescents, both as a group and ideographically as individuals exploring the social and personal factors in character formation. Character reputation is associated predominately with school behavior involving middle-class expectations, getting good grades, paying attention to peers and superiors, and effort to get ahead in life. Because of getting a good start at home, children of middle- and upper-class families achieve higher character reputations among age-mates and adults. Character reputation was found to be more closely related to religious observance and conventionality than to church membership or beliefs. Little evidence was found of a relationship between character

and capacity to make sharp relative judgments in complex life situations, social adjustment, values expressed in essays on "The Person I would Like to be Like," or affectional family relations. After delineating five empirical personality types, Self-Directive, Adaptive, Submissive, Defiant, and Unadjusted, it was found by the Conference Method that case studies of individuals yielded more insight into the complex relationships between character, personality, and social environment than did statistical analysis of groups. The Self-Directive person most nearly approximates the authors' predilection for good character, one having intelligent understanding of moral principles, the ability to apply them to problems of daily conduct, and the conviction that moral principles are worth sacrifice—even of social acceptance and popularity.

There is little to criticize and much to commend in this collaboration. This sample of cooperative research in the social sciences in one rural sociologists might study for hints in designing their own inter-sectional experiment station research projects.

REUBEN HILL

University of North Carolina.

Social Work Year Book, 1949, Tenth Issue.

By Margaret B. Hodges, Editor, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1949. Pp. 714. \$4.50.

The Social Work Year Book 1949, like the previous issues, will be a standard reference work for rural sociologists who want "a concise encyclopedia descriptive of organized activities in social work and related fields." Part One consists of 79 articles written by authorities on subjects which range from "Administration of Social Agencies" to "Youth Services." With one exception "Rural Social Programs," the rural aspects of social problems are not discussed in special articles. Part Two consists of four directories of agencies whose programs are integral with or related to the subject matter of Part One.

The international aspect of social work receives special attention in this edition of the Yearbook. For the first time, a Directory of International Agencies appears, listing 21 international agencies, both governmental and voluntary, which operate in the broad field of health and welfare.

Shifts in the relative importance of subject matter have also been recognized. Several new articles appear for the first time. Some topics previously discussed have been omitted or incorporated in other articles in this issue.

Each of the articles is followed by a bibliography of selected references to the literature of the subject discussed.

R. L. ROBERTS.

Bethesda, Maryland.

Personality in Nature, Society and Culture.

Edited by Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948. Pp. xxi + 561. \$6.00 trade; \$4.50 text.

This is a collection of essays, research articles and condensations of research monographs integrated about the Kluckhohn and Murray conception of Personality as it functions in nature, society and culture. The first section of the book outlines the Murray-Kluckhohn conception of personality. The great bulk of the work is allocated to readings on the formation of personality with an excellent original chapter by the authors which sets forth their basic theory of the determinants of personality. A series of articles in this section of the book is devoted to each of the following: Constitutional determinants, group-membership determinants, interrelations between constitutional and group membership determinants, role determinants, situational determinants, and the interrelationship between determinants. The final section of the book deals with essays on applications to modern problems.

By and large the essays are exceptionally well chosen and are nicely integrated by introductory comments and transitional paragraphs by the editors. Many sociolog-

ists will disagree with the emphasis placed on constitutional determinants of personality both in the chapters by Kluckhohn and Murray and in the articles by other authors, but most will agree that the selection of articles is very good and represents some of the best work done in this aspect of personality research. The section on role determinants consists of Parsons' well-known article on age and sex in the social structure of the U. S. and Merton's masterful article on bureaucratic structure and personality. These and John Dollard are the only out-and-out sociologists represented in the volume although articles by several "psychological social psychologists" and many well-known cultural anthropologists are included. Little is said directly about the importance of attitude formation, modification, or integration in personality dynamics. The section on applications to modern problems seems to the reviewer to have been thrown in to give the book a practical appeal but falls short of the mark.

This book should be well received by teachers of personality courses because it brings together in a well-organized fashion a number of significant articles by outstanding authors representing various points of view and approaches to personality.

WILLIAM H. SEWELL.

University of Wisconsin.

Rural Welfare Services. By Benson Y. Landis. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. viii + 201. \$3.00.

It is impossible to determine the criteria used by the author in "selecting" the topics covered in this book. Several chapter headings are about the same as the reader will find in his favorite general book in the field of social work or public welfare.

In some chapters it appears that the discussion is limited to organizations or agencies that are located in rural areas. In another chapter it appears that "services for rural people" is the central theme regardless of the location of headquarters.

The result of this is that the reader is constantly wondering!

The author apparently was trying to "ride the horse in all directions" in the preparation of the book. It was designed, according to the author, for "the agricultural extension worker, the educator, the clergyman, the officer of the general farm organization and the cooperative . . ." The publisher had a slightly different group in mind, for it is stated on the jacket that the book "should be read by the professional social worker, the student of social work, the teacher of rural sociology, and the rural community leader."

The topics (chapter headings) selected are not treated sufficiently to give the uninitiated or uninformed a clear understanding of the subject. Its sheer brevity means that for those who "know a little" about the subject, reading the book will be uneventful. The author's demand for brevity reaches the point of absurdity in several places. Chapter 10, "Control of Child Labor," consists of four pages. The issue of compulsory health insurance is "disposed of" in one paragraph consisting of six lines.

In this reviewer's opinion *Rural Welfare Services* will serve: (1) to reemphasize the paucity of field materials from rural areas that can be used satisfactorily in introductory social work courses; (2) as a spring board for others to use in developing general books and texts in this highly important and neglected field.

SELZ C. MAYO.

North Carolina State College.

The Golden Wing: A Sociological Study of Chinese Familism. By LIN YUEH-HWA. New York: Oxford University Press, 1947 (1948). xv + 234 Pp. \$4.50.

This is a sociological treatise attempting to analyze the causative factors influencing three generations of two divergently developing Chinese family fortunes. Dunglin, head of the later more prosperous Hwang family, is associated in business with his

brother-in-law, Fenchow, the head of the less fortunate Chang family. From this common beginning the fortunes of the two diverge. The author seeks to answer one question: "Why?"

Recognizing the Chinese peasants' belief in the power of "wind and water" (luck or fate) over the fortunes of men, the author painstakingly delves into social and economic factors for more scientific explanations. To Professor Lin the most important of the factors determining their familial prosperity is the capacity to adjust to the ever changing conditions of life in general, and to business and politics in particular.

Its philosophy revolves about the concept of an ever changing social equilibrium and the necessity for constant personal and familial readjustment to such an environment if prosperity is to be achieved and maintained. The one who most accurately anticipates the nature of such necessary adjustment in the end is the most successful. On occasion, however, the cause of disequilibrium may be so far removed from the control of the individual or family that prosperous readjustment is impossible; for instance, even the formerly successful Hwang family was relatively powerless to effect a desirable equilibrium during the Japanese invasion of their territory.

Because of the author's capacity for description and keen insight into the social political, and economic environments of the two families studied, the reader learns about many Chinese cultural patterns and social institutions other than the familial. The lucid presentation of Dunglin's lawsuit not only pictures the formal procedures but lends insight into the more latent, but very important, extralegal factors in Chinese jurisprudence such as the value of prestige, friends, and even bribes. On other occasions the reader is introduced to the bandits, the river transport system, the banking system, the double standard of Chinese morals, and local political institutions.

It is a sociological case history analysis of the ascendance and decline of two Chinese families which reads like a novel. Students of the social institutions, particularly the family, will place it alongside such other descriptions of Chinese social life as *Earthbound China*, *Red Chamber Dream*, *The Good Earth*, and *House of Exile*.

MARVIN J. TAVES.

State College of Washington.

America's Health. By The National Health Assembly. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949. Pp. vii + 389. \$4.50.

This is a summary of the proceedings of The National Health Assembly, held by invitation of an executive committee appointed for the purpose by Oscar R. Ewing, Federal Security Administrator, in Washington, in early May of 1948.

The Assembly has been both praised and condemned, not so much for its results which were not startling as for its composition which has been alleged to be left-wing. Whether this is based on fact or not could be determined only by intimate knowledge of each person there. However, it would seem to be somewhat of an exaggeration when one considers the make-up of the executive committee itself which contained among its thirty-eight members one president and one past president of the American Medical Society; Earl Bunting of the National Association of Manufacturers, Louis I. Dublin of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and others in addition to such moderate liberals as Goss of the Grange, Green of the American Federation of Labor, Murray of the C.I.O., and Patton of the National Farmers Union. Oscar Ewing in his introduction refers to it as being "as representative a group as could have been brought together" (page x), in an attempt "to make sure that all interested groups, all divergent views, had the fullest opportunity to be represented" (page x).

The conference was divided into fourteen discussion groups each concerned with a separate item relating to the nation's

health. The Federal Security Agency supplied a staff assistant for each group, to aid in compiling material and to act as secretary to the extent which the group committees directed.

The book has the faults common to all such conference reports: lack of logical coherence, emphasis upon detail rather than general principles, and confusion of differing points of view. At the same time, however, these very faults serve to acquaint the reader with the informal nature of the discussions. There is value in the account of divergent views based on the same facts; in discovering that there was agreement on facts, but wide disagreement by men of equal intelligence on what to do about them; and in the expression of strong disagreement between representatives of the various groups interested in the field of national health. Rural sociologists, for example, will be concerned with Chapter VI, "A National Program for Rural Health," which shows the tension still existing between the American Medical Association and the Grange and the Farmers Union over cooperatives, a type of economic organization which the Association has long had difficulty in disassociating from Communism.

There is considerable data pertinent to the health status of the nation. It is difficult to find, however, being scattered in fragmentary form throughout the book. Rural sociologists will find little here that has not been included with far better organization in Mott and Roemer's *Rural Health and Medical Care*. Those interested in the program for improvement of the nation's health prepared by Oscar R. Ewing after this conference adjourned, will not find it here but will do well to read *The Nation's Health—a 10 Year Program* which can be obtained from the Federal Security Agency or the Superintendent of Documents. This presents the salient data in brief and dramatic form together with the program for federal government action in the field.

WILLIAM G. MATHER.

The Pennsylvania State College.

Leisure and Recreation: A Study of Leisure and Recreation in Their Sociological Aspects. Revised Edition. By Martin H. Neumeyer and Esther S. Neumeyer. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1949. Pp. 411. \$4.50.

The Neumeysers' revision of their textbook *Leisure and Recreation* presents the same point of view, and essentially the same material as in their 1936 edition. Chapters have been rearranged to follow a more orderly sequence, selected references for reading have been brought up-to-date, the student projects and exercises at the end of each chapter have been reworked, and new material from recent publications has been added. The publisher used a lighter smaller type than in the first edition and reduced the size of the page. This makes the text somewhat difficult to read.

The first five chapters describe the historical development of leisure. The point of view is taken that progress of civilization is determined largely by the amount and use of leisure. "While work is necessary for subsistence, and no country has ever been able to exist without it, the culture of a group is built up mainly during spare time. Thus, the direction of a civilization is shaped largely by the extent and uses of leisure, rather than by what people do when they work."

A chapter on the conditioning factors that affect the kind and amount of leisure in modern society is followed by chapters on leisure and personality, preparing for leisure, theories of play, group aspects of recreation and the use of recreation in ameliorating social maladjustment. A consideration of commercial recreation summarizes some of the well-known studies in this field. Two chapters describe the public and private agencies promoting community recreation, another outlines the training of professional recreational leadership and the final chapter briefly reviews fact finding methods helpful to program administrators.

The book is a combination of an historical descriptive treatment of leisure with an

emphasis on its present status in an industrial society and the use of certain sociological and psychological concepts to describe leisure. The book would have been improved if one or the other approach had been used and systematically developed. The shifting from one to the other has created difficulties of presentation.

ROBERT A. POLSON.

Cornell University.

These Things We Tried. By Jean and Jess Ogden. University, Virginia: University of Virginia Extension, Vol. XXV, No. 6, October 15, 1947. \$1.50 paper, \$3.00 cloth.

Those who have studied the imaginative and creative work of the Ogdens described in their book, *Small Communities in Action* (Harpers, 1946), will find *These Things We Tried* a most valuable supplement. In it the Ogdens tell the behind-the-scenes story of the failures as well as the successes of various methods they tried in their search for ways of helping communities help themselves to individual and community self-realization. They describe in an unusually objective and disarmingly honest manner the strengths, and weaknesses of such varied methods as selecting experimental counties, living in the community, serving as consultants, and guiding by remote control.

Among the techniques they have found most useful are state, regional, and particularly local workshops for developing broad community leadership. They point out discerningly the potentialities, strengths and weaknesses of community councils. They emphasize the limitations to leadership of professional workers. They stress the necessity of finding the true community leaders who, over a long period of time, will help to develop the inherent leadership in all the people for the realization of the goals set by all of them.

The Ogdens' whole approach to community is one of rare sensitivity. Their keenness of observation is expressed in gems of truth. Their restatement of faith in the

meaning and process of democracy as applied to community organization, based on their own experience, makes this a most valuable handbook for all those who seek to help communities help themselves in the direction of more and more democracy.

ELIN L. ANDERSON.

United States Department of Agriculture.

Juan Roura Parella. *El Mundo Historico Social (Ensayo Sobre la Morfologia de la Cultura de Dilthey)*, Mexico, D. F.: Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Universidad Nacional, 1948, Pp. 230. \$4.00 (Mex.)

This excellent little volume is of interest to sociologists in the United States in general, and rural sociologists in particular, chiefly as an illustration of the vast difference between sociology as conceived and practiced south of the Rio Grande and that in vogue in our own country. Its right to a central position in what most Latin Americans think of as sociology seems well established. It was published as one of the *Cuadernos* (notebooks, handbooks) of sociology in the *Biblioteca* (library, series) of sociological essays by what probably is the most important social research agency in all of Spanish America. As far as this reviewer has been able to determine from considerable experience in Mexico, Central America, and South America, Rou ra Parella's work should be thought of as a typical example of Latin American sociology.

But the preconceptions under which the members of our fraternity work in the United States make it difficult for most of us to recognize the sociological markings of the volume under consideration. Neither the dedication to Cornelius Krusée, the preface by Edward Spranger, nor the preoccupation with Dilthey's ideas are sufficient to cause the average sociologist in this country to think of the book as being in the field to which he is dedicating his life. A brief examination of the contents makes this point even more emphatic. The Introduction, "Dilthey's Theme," presents a brief resume of Dilthey's time and of the

relationship of his philosophy to that of Kant, that of Hegel, and to positivism. Then it goes on to discuss the objectives of philosophy, the philosophy of life, and the plans for philosophical investigations. With such an introduction, the titles of the four chapters are sufficient to reveal the basic nature of the remainder of the volume: They are as follows. Life and Living, The Image of the Human Soul, The Conception of the World, and The Basis of the Spiritual Sciences.

T. LYNN SMITH.

University of Florida.

Juvenile Courts in North Carolina. By Wiley B. Sanders. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948. Pp. viii + 210. \$4.00.

This volume brings together under one cover three reports dealing with studies of North Carolina juvenile court cases and procedures. Parts I and II present analytical statistical reports of cases handled during two five year periods, July 1, 1934—June 30, 1939, and July 1, 1939—June 30, 1944; Part III discusses the history, organization, and procedure followed in the juvenile courts of North Carolina up through 1947. "Each part was begun and completed as a separate study" say the authors (p. 12) and it should be made clear that they are now printed in the same separate form.

In 1937 the same author published a report of a similar nature covering cases between July 1, 1929, and June 30, 1934. There are, therefore, data of a uniform statistical nature for the fifteen year period 1929-1944 and embracing approximately forty-nine thousand cases. The information for this fifteen year period is, in a general way, a continuation of similar studies beginning with the establishment of the state-wide system of juvenile courts in North Carolina in 1919. Thus, there is available in this series of studies a continuous report on the handling of juvenile delinquency in the state for the twenty-five year period, 1919-1944, and involving more

than 72,000 juvenile court cases. The present volume, however, deals almost entirely with the last ten years (1934-1944), covering 32,246 cases handled officially by 107 juvenile courts.

As is to be expected, the findings are in general accord with other careful reports from other states. Contrary to the popular impression, the over-all figures show a *declining number* of juvenile delinquency hearings, for both Negro and for white children. "Stealing" is the most common charge with "delinquency" and "breaking and entering" next in order. Recidivism is given as approximately 17 per cent with 83 per cent of the cases appearing in court only once, 11 per cent twice, 4 per cent three times, and so on.

This is a most valuable and important book giving uniform statistical information about the juvenile court system of one state over a considerable period of time. No one who prefers factual information about conditions as they are to fanciful interpretations of what ought to be will want to be without this important little volume.

GEORGE B. VOLD.

University of Minnesota.

These Our People: Minorities in American Culture. By R. A. Schermerhorn. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1949. Pp. x + 635. \$4.50.

This volume, written in a fascinating style, is another of the texts on so-called "minorities" in the United States, but, as is characteristic of such books, only ethnic groups are discussed. As yet, no one has seemed able to consider *all* subgroups within a culture as minorities, but include only those that are considered "problems." However, cannot the unskilled worker, the Catholic, the farmer, the Republican, etc., be considered as minority peoples in many of their social relationships just as is the Negro, the Jew, or the Indian? It should also be borne in mind that no individual or any group is in a minority position in all contacts in the complexities of modern, secular culture.

Schermerhorn defines minorities as "subgroups within a culture which are distinguishable from the dominant group by reason of differences in physiogomy, language, customs, or culture patterns (including any combinations of these factors)." He goes on to state that, "Such subgroups are regarded as inherently different and 'not belonging' to the dominant group; for this reason they are consciously or unconsciously excluded from full participation in the life of the culture." The author of the book pays scant attention, except in the concluding section of the volume, to the development of attitudes and how, as a result, certain groups are *considered* subordinate in *some* of their relationships. After carefully explaining the concept of "race," he pays a great deal of attention to the historical and cultural backgrounds of various ethnic groups but largely ignores the socio-psychological factors.

The author has attempted to select for the study minority groups which have the largest population bases; this means that practically every individual has contact with at least one of the groups. In comparison with other texts in the field his treatment of the "Racial Minorities" (American Indian, Negro, Mexican, and Japanese) is adequate but by no means exceptional; this same conclusion holds true for the discussion of the Jew. To the student of minorities perhaps the most valuable and objective portion of the book is found in the section dealing with the "New Immigration." Here Schermerhorn carefully traces the historical and cultural background of the several ethnic groups (Italians, Poles, Czechs and Slovaks, Hungarians, and Yugoslavs) from the "old country" to the United States. Although some will want to adopt *These Our People* as the principal text, it will probably have the greatest value as a supplementary volume largely because of the information contained in the section on the "New Immigration."

JOHN C. BELCHER.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work (Selected Papers, Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Meeting, 1948). New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. xvi + 489. \$6.00.

The 1948 "Proceedings" is a collection of some 50 papers presented at last year's Conference of Social Work. Included are three memorials to the late secretary, Howard R. Knight; the Presidential address by Leonard W. Mayo, "Basic Issues in Social Work;" and an excellent selection of papers arranged in the following areas: International Welfare, Social and Economic Issues, The Government and Social Work, Methods of Social Action, Social Work and the Community, Our Nation's Health, Social Work and Our Youth. The Layman in Social Work, Concepts and Trends in Casework, Areas of Social Work, Agency Administration, and Education and Training for Social Work.

Most of the papers are of technical or particular interest to social workers, but there are a dozen or more articles which merit the attention of sociologists. Among these should be mentioned the writing of Edward Lindeman, G. Bromley Oxman, and Arthur Altmeyer on Social and Economic Issues; the paper on Medicine at the Crossroads by Dr. Allan Butler; two papers on mental health by Drs. Sol Ginsberg and Julius Schrieber; two papers on chronic illness by Drs. Milton Terris and John Bourke; five excellent papers on problems of the aged; and finally Bryn J. Hovde of the New School for Social Research writes in a most challenging manner of The Group as an Instrument in Training for Democracy.

There are four Appendixes devoted to the official reports of the organization for 1948 and there is a useful index of articles and contributing authors.

ROBERT L. McNAMARA.
University of Missouri.

Current Economic Problems. By Henry William Spiegel, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Blakiston Company, 1949. Pp. 726. \$5.00.

The publisher made an apt statement by referring to *Current Economic Problems* as a "book that can be used with any 'principles' text." It contains a wealth of descriptive material on numerous economic problems that illustrate many economic principles. This book treats virtually the entire economy as a series of national problems of public significance. Data, where used, are on a national basis. There is no analysis by firms, industries or commodities. It varies from this presentation slightly to give special emphasis to problems of the South and of the West—in the national framework. Agriculture is considered a "special problem" of national importance, but just why it is thus grouped with the chapters on the South and West is not explained.

The subject matter is grouped under four broad headings: progress, security, freedom, and peace. Under "progress", the author discusses population, technology, and capital formation. "Security" covers consumption, prices, employment, labor, distribution, life insurance, housing and investments. "Freedom" is the theme for treatment of free enterprise, concentration of economic power, government and business and government finance, national defense, public utilities and railroads. The chapters under "Peace" deal with international trade and finance.

Three important features appear at the end of each chapter: (1) summary, (2) bibliography, and (3) study questions. The summary is only fair. The bibliography is excellent, partly because most of the items are prefaced by explanatory statements, such as "the most comprehensive treatise on . . .", "the most up-to-date material on . . .", "among the older works . . . stands out", "a more specialized study is . . .", "for an extremely conservative point of view", and ". . . is highly informative but outdated". The questions, usually about 20, will be helpful to students as problems for study or review.

The theme of public responsibility runs strong throughout the book. Economic

pressure groups and politics are mentioned frequently. Legislation gets a good share of the space. A generous portion of economics, a good share of political science (including public administration), a small amount of sociology—Spiegel has knit them together quite well.

JOHN E. MASON.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics
U. S. Department of Agriculture.

City Man on a Farm. By John Wikstrom.
New York: The Exposition Press,
1949. Pp. 101. \$2.50.

John Wikstrom writes realistically of his personal experience as a successful city man who turned to farming to get away from the rigorous discipline of a city job. His decision was not hasty. John was not a dreamer. For he had been educated in architectural engineering. He was a student, a planner, a builder. He studied the matter seriously and soberly. He was certain of the decision; he went into the matter with his eyes open; he laid his life's savings on the barrel head to be independent, and free, and his own boss.

Little did John realize the innumerable problems and endless heartaches of extracting a living from the unyielding soil. Little did he know of the labor it took to make a productive farm out of a cut-over wilderness. Little did he suspect that the tall waving grass of midsummer hid a multitude of deficiencies that would be revealed by the first frost.

John speaks highly of his friendly neighbors and their inestimable help in time of trouble. He shows in some detail how the farmer is not his own boss—how he is bossed around by wind, and rain, and snow, and cold; how difficult a matter it is to raise livestock; how the loss of a favorite horse can break your heart, as well as take all of the savings meant for personal use; how uncontrolled nature, annual payments on the mortgage, and life and death processes on the farm are a much harder task master than a city boss.

City Man on a Farm takes you through

the essential steps that led from a secure job and substantial savings out to the country and back to the city bankrupt in five short years.

Wikstrom's advice is forthright. He learned by experience, but he concludes that experience is the most expensive teacher. He recommends unequivocally that a city slicker who must get away from it all by being his boss on the farm should rent for a year or so before buying. If this is done, only a part of the savings may be lost and one can get back to town rather quickly.

Every city man who wants to be a farmer should read this book before taking the final step. Every farmer who looks longingly at the green grass on the city side of the fence may find many warnings that would prevent making a fatal mistake. For everyone with imagination who wants to relax with a good book for an evening, *City Man on a Farm* is recommended. It is earthly; it portrays life as it is lived; it deals with fundamentals; it cuts away the veil of glamorous freedom, fresh air, and country living, and shows farm life as it is, with all of its back-bending, heart-breaking demands. Read it Mr. Dreamer, and you will stick to your soft city job!

MARSHALL HARRIS.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics,
Washington, D. C.

The Family of Tomorrow. By Carle C. Zimmerman. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949. Pp. xi + 256. \$3.50.

Like many other contemporary writers, Professor Zimmerman is much concerned about the current status of the American family. In the present volume, which is a sequel to his earlier *Family and Civilization*, he examines the history of the family systems of the Western World in search of clues to an understanding of contemporary problems. His thesis is that as family systems change "they sometimes conflict with the cultural-continuity aims of great civilizations" (p. ix). Thus we are told that when the ancient Roman family and sex

mores crumbled, "all hell broke loose" (p. 27).

According to Zimmerman, the Western World is now faced with a similar crisis. The rapid atomization of the modern family is precipitating a "polarization of family values" between the "saints" on the one hand and the "sinners" on the other (p. 200). The crisis can be resolved only by restoring the basic values of familism characteristic of an earlier period. This will come about either through the tortuous processes of "cultural determinism" or through "social control". The latter, in turn, will require the coordinated efforts of the intelligentsia to secure general acceptance of the priority of family values over individual values. In a final chapter on "The Means

to an End" Zimmerman advocates the formation of "The American Family Institute" which will "attempt to do for the family what the Farm Bureau Federation and the Farmers' Union do for agriculture" (p. 243).

The book is both thought-provoking and provoking. It stimulates serious thought by its bold theoretical frame of reference and by challenging a number of widely held assumptions. On the other hand the volume is likely to irritate many careful students on account of its unwarranted generalizations and because its central thesis involves what some will regard as a false distinction between family patterns and the rest of the culture.

T. G. STANDING.

New York State College for Teachers.

NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Harold F. Kaufman

COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY ACTIVITIES

Alabama Polytechnic Institute. Robert T. McMillan who has been appointed Professor of Sociology in the Department of Economics and Business Administration reports that he will teach courses in rural sociology and population.

Brown University. Vincent H. Whitney has been promoted to the rank of Associate Professor of Sociology and to the Chairmanship of the Department of Sociology. He succeeds Harold S. Bucklin who is relinquishing his administrative duties to carry on research and writing.

University of Ceylon. Murray Straus of the University of Wisconsin has accepted a Lectureship in the Department of Sociology. Bryce Ryan is Professor of Sociology and Head of the Department.

Professor Ryan introduced sociology to the University curricula last year and at present has over 20 undergraduate students specializing in the field. As Ceylon is a predominantly agricultural country, emphasis is being placed upon the rural aspects and application of sociological theory and method. Last spring 10 students carried out community studies as a part of their requirements for the Bachelor's degree.

Colorado A. and M. College. One of the series of seven Rural Library Workshops under the direction of the Joint Committee of the Rural Sociological Society and the American Library Association was held here on September 6. The workshop was organized by James G. Hodgson of Colorado A. and M. College Library and Emily L. Mayne of the Division of Libraries of the Minnesota State Department of Education.

Clemson College. Virlyn A. Boyd is engaged in a regional study of some of the

relationships between mechanization and rental arrangements in the Piedmont Area of the Southeast. Cooperating agencies are the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Southeast Land Tenure Committee. The first report on the project will be a description of rental arrangements on tractors and non-tractor farms.

Davidson College. George Douglas, formerly of Alabama College, assumed his duties as Professor of Sociology on September 1.

Duke University. A. J. Walton with the aid of students has recently completed a study of church work and attitudes in 140 resort towns. The resort season was mostly beneficial on church life in winter resort areas and somewhat detrimental in summer resort areas.

Florida State University. Lester S. Pearl, Associate Professor of Social Work, was on leave last spring at the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences at the University of North Carolina conducting a research project on health and completing his thesis. Dean Johnson, Assistant Professor, did graduate work at Duke University last Summer. Edwin R. Hartz, Assistant Professor, is on leave during the current academic year to do graduate work at the same institution.

A cooperative seminar in Marriage and Family Living was held from June 16 to July 6. Dr. Evelyn Millis Duvall, Executive Secretary of the National Council on Family Relations, and Dr. Sylvanus Duvall, Professor of Sociology at George Williams College, were the visiting consultants. This workshop represented the first in a series of cooperative activities sponsored by the Department of Social Work in the Division of Applied Social Science and the Department of Home and Family Life in the School

of Home Economics. The seminar was attended by teachers, supervisors, nurses, and ministers from five different states.

A one-day conference on marriage and family was also held for ministers during the summer. Coyle E. Moore, Director of the Department of Social Work, was the general chairman of the conference.

University of Florida. Daniel E. Alleger, Associate Agricultural Economist, reports that he is engaged in a study of the types of farm leasing arrangements in Florida. This research, initiated in January of this year, is a cooperative project sponsored by the Florida Experiment Station, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Southeast Regional Land Tenure Committee.

University of Illinois. J. K. Van Slyke and Miss Martha Carlise have been added to the extension staff in Rural Sociology. Mr. Van Slyke will devote his time to the rural chorus, music and drama activities, and Miss Carlise will be responsible for recreation with rural youth, 4-H Clubs and Home Bureau Units.

David E. Lindstrom expects to return from Sweden in February. He is now studying the effects of social policies on rural life in Sweden.

Iowa State College. W. H. Stacy, Extension Rural Sociologist, participated in the 1949 annual conference of the American Association for Adult Education in Columbus, Ohio in May. Professor Stacy was re-elected to the Executive Council of the AAAE. He is also serving on the Community Organization and Research committees of that Association. In addition Professor Stacy is serving as chairman of the program committee for the third workshop to be held in October of the Iowa Council for Better Education.

Robert Schmidt was granted his M.S. in sociology from Iowa State College this spring. Schmidt's thesis dealt with the differential aspects of church and Sunday-school attendance of farm families.

An Experiment Station conference on Regional Population Research was held in June. Representatives from mid-west states set up a committee and outlined a project in population analysis that will be presented to the next meeting of the Midwest Experiment Station Directors. The sociology staff also cooperated with the Iowa State Department of Health in the presentation of a health workshop on the Campus in July. Main emphasis was placed on acquainting community and county health leaders with available health information and techniques for conducting local health education and action programs.

Louisiana State University. Fred C. Frey, first head of the Department of Sociology here and long-time University administrator, has relinquished his post as Dean of University to resume research and teaching activities as a Professor of Sociology.

Paul H. Price, who holds an M.A. degree from this institution and has completed residence for the doctorate at Vanderbilt, joined the sociology staff in September as an Assistant Professor and Assistant Rural Sociologist. Price spent last year in Brazil collecting data for his dissertation. At L.S.U. his teaching specialty will be Latin American peoples and institutions.

Among the instructors in sociology this academic year are Mr. Robert O. Trout (on leave from Louisiana Polytechnic Institute), Mr. Chester W. Young (on leave from Northwestern State College), Mr. Ben Kaplan (on leave from Southwestern Louisiana Institute) and Mr. W. E. Hopkins who holds the M.S. from Virginia Polytechnic Institute. All of these instructors are pursuing advanced graduate programs in addition to performing instructional duties.

Professor Rudolf Heberle, on sabbatical leave the first semester of the current academic year, is completing a work in the field of political sociology. Mr. John N. Burrus was appointed to the staff of the Department of Rural Sociology as a Research Associate, effective July 1, 1949.

Marietta College. Under the leadership of E. L. Kirkpatrick two classes in the field of rural sociology undertook an exploratory study of the village community of Lowell. This survey was similar to the one done last year in the New Matamoras community. This latter study has been published under the title "New Matamoras in the Mirror" and is available from Marietta College.

Marion College (Virginia). Edith G. Hoover, Head of the Department of Social Studies, reports that students in sociology have just completed a religious survey of an area near the College. The survey was used in improving the religious situation in the area.

University of Maryland. Bruce L. Melvin, who has recently joined the teaching and research staff of the Department of Sociology, has been assigned for the current year to teaching in several of the armed forces centers in Germany under the extension program of the University's College of Special and Continuation Studies. Professor Melvin is giving two courses, one in Principles of Sociology, with emphasis on international implications, and the other in rural-urban relations.

Michigan State College. John Useem, of the University of Wisconsin, joined the teaching and Experiment Station staff in September as Associate Professor replacing Edgar Schuler. Useem is completing research started in the Far East while working with military government. His Experiment Station research will center largely in the field of communication.

Raymond Scheele joined the staff in September, replacing Asael Hansen. Professor Scheele is completing research begun while directing the field work of the interdisciplinary project carried on in Puerto Rico under the sponsorship of the Rockefeller Foundation, Columbia University, and the University of Puerto Rico.

David Steinicke joined the staff in July as Assistant Professor in Rural Sociology and Anthropology Extension. He will de-

velop a program of rural health extension and assist Paul Miller on the study of community organization in medical care financed by the Farm Foundation.

Gregory Stone of the University of Illinois, joined the teaching and Experiment Station staff as Assistant Professor. He will devote most of his research activity to an Agricultural Experiment Station project dealing with the social and cultural aspects of clothing and clothing marketing behavior which will be used as a Ph. D. thesis directed by Lloyd Warner of the University of Chicago.

Milton Rokeach of the Psychology Department of Michigan State College has joined the Department of Sociology and Anthropology part time where he will teach social psychology. He is also a member of the committee charged with the Minority Group Study carried on by the Social Research Service under contract with the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith.

University of Minnesota. Arnold Rose has been appointed Associate Professor of Sociology. George B. Vold was elected President of the Midwest Sociological Society for the current year.

Lowry Nelson attended the third session of the Permanent Agricultural Committee of the International Labor Office held in Rome during September. Professor Nelson will be on leave from the University during the spring quarter 1950 to serve as Visiting Professor of Sociology at the University of Utah.

Roy Buck, graduate student who took his prelims in June, was appointed Assistant Professor in the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Pennsylvania State College. Ann Garver, who also took the prelims for the Ph. D. degree in June, accepted an Assistant Professorship at the University of West Virginia.

University of Mississippi. William G. Haag joined the staff in September from the University of Kentucky where he taught anthropology and was Curator of the Mu-

seum of Anthropology. As Associate Professor of Anthropology, he will offer courses in anthropology and archaeology and conduct research and field training in Amerindian archaeology. This work is in cooperation with the Department of Classics.

Beginning with the fall semester, the Sociology Department was reconstituted as a Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Morton B. King, Jr., Professor of Sociology, continues as chairman. Julien R. Tatum, Associate Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, and Alfred C. Schnur, Assistant Professor of Sociology, are the other two members of the Department. The former is specializing in rural sociology and cultural anthropology and the latter in criminology and corrections.

Graduate work is being offered in the above mentioned fields and fellowships are available to qualified candidates for the Master's degree.

University of Missouri. Milton Coughenour who received the M. A. degree during the summer is now Instructor, part-time, teaching two sections of Introductory Rural Sociology. John B. Mitchell, who taught last year, is now Instructor doing part-time research on a study of rural morbidity.

Recent bulletins published by staff members include: *Selective Service Rejectees in Rural Missouri, 1940-43*, by Lawrence M. Hepple; *Low Income Farmers in Missouri: Their Contacts with Potential Sources of Farm and Home Information*, by Herbert F. Lionberger; and *The Rural Population Resources of Missouri*, by C. E. Lively and Margaret Bright.

Jennette Gruener of the Department of Social Work, is author of a bulletin in the rural sociology health series entitled, *Nursing Needs and Resources in Missouri*. During the year the Rural Sociology Department in cooperation with Adult Education and Extension, will undertake to issue a series of short popular bulletins on basic health facts.

North Carolina State College. James W. Green joined the staff on July 1 as an In-

structor in Rural Sociology after completing part of the requirements for the doctorate at University of North Carolina. In addition to part-time teaching he is engaged in field research on the sociological factors in the process of rural house building.

Eugene Wilkening returned to the staff on July 1 as Assistant Professor of Rural Sociology after a year's leave of absence on a Social Science Research Council pre-doctoral fellowship. He was engaged in an intensive study of the acceptance of improved farm practices in a Piedmont community of North Carolina. Professor Wilkening is presently conducting research on the communication of information about farm practices in addition to part-time teaching duties.

Oklahoma A. and M. College. Joseph S. Vandiver from Vanderbilt has been appointed an Associate Professor of Sociology. Robert A. Rohwer from Iowa State College and Solomon Sutker from the University of North Carolina have become Assistant Professors of Sociology. Marylee Mason Vandiver formerly of Vanderbilt University has accepted a Research Assistantship in Rural Sociology.

James W. Roberts has resigned to do organizational work with the Oklahoma Farm Bureau Federation. Charles D. McGlamery has resigned to pursue further graduate work at the University of Washington and Therell R. Black leaves the institution because of ill health.

Texas A. and M. College. Wayne C. Rhorer, Assistant in Research and David Steinicke, Assistant Professor, are at Michigan State College this year doing graduate work toward the Ph. D. and also carrying out certain staff assignments in that institution. Robert L. Skrabanek, who took his Ph. D. degree at Louisiana State University this summer, joined the staff as Assistant Professor of Rural Sociology. Joe Motheral, who has been on leave of absence studying for his Ph. D. at the University of Wisconsin, returned this fall.

Vanderbilt University. Emilio Willems assumed his duties in September as Visiting Professor of Anthropology. He will offer courses in Races and Cultures in Brazil, Physical Anthropology, The Indians of North America, the Indians of South America, Races and Cultures of Africa, and the Economics of Pre-Literate Peoples. He comes to Vanderbilt University from the University of Sao Paulo, Brazil, where he has taught since 1936. His current research is in the field of cultural change, especially acculturation.

Olen E. Leonard, also appointed in September, has assumed responsibility for rural social organization and other courses in rural sociology and population. His current research consists of a study of the social structure of Bolivia.

Clark Knowlton, recipient of the Bolivar Fellowship, departs in January for field studies in Brazil. He will study the Syrian and Lebanese ethnic groups.

Wayne University. Edgar H. Schuler, formerly of Michigan State College, has been appointed Head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

University College of the West Indies. H. D. Huggins is Director of the Institute of Social and Economic Research located at the University College of the West Indies in Jamaica. The Institute was formerly created in September, 1948. It has been originally financed by the British Government but there are plans to utilize funds from other sources. The emphasis will be on both theoretical and applied research, especially as related to the West Indies.

University of Wisconsin. J. H. Kolb has returned from Norway where he was Visiting Professor at the University of Oslo during the past six months. In addition to a research seminar he conducted field studies in several Norwegian villages. His stay in Norway was under the joint auspices of the University of Oslo, the University of Wisconsin and the Rockefeller Foundation.

George W. Hill was Visiting Professor of Rural Sociology at Garrett Biblical Institute during the summer. He spent several weeks during the early summer in Venezuela where he served as consultant to the Venezuelan Government.

Arthur F. Wileden has been promoted from Associate Professor of Rural Sociology to Professor.

Lowry Nelson, University of Minnesota, was Visiting Professor during the summer session. He taught courses in rural social trends and rural institutions.

Graduate Assistants and Fellows in Rural Sociology for the academic year 1949-50 include: Margaret Bright, William A. DeHart, Mary Chamberlain, Burt Ellenbogen, Charles Ramsey, Eugene F. Rector, Harvey Schweitzer, James Spero, and James Tarver.

PRIVATE RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS

Town and Country Department, Congregational Christian Churches. Thomas A. Tripp initiated the first course in rural sociology at the Divinity School, (Episcopal), in Philadelphia during the fall semester of 1949. Mr. Tripp is also secretary of a National Committee on the Marginal Church. This committee was established in 1946 by the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational Christian Churches and is offering scholarships to theological students who prepare for work in the rehabilitation of weakened but essential rural churches. The Committee is conducting field research and providing leadership for experimental parishes.

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Office of Foreign Relations, U.S.D.A. Afif I. Tannous left for the Middle East in September on a three-month assignment as member of the United Nations Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East. The mission is studying problems of socio-economic development in the region and possibilities for the resettlement of some 700,000 refugees from Palestine.

JOHN MORRIS GILLETTE DIES

Dr. John Morris Gillette died in Grand Forks, North Dakota, on September 24, 1949, at the age of 83. Dr. Gillette joined the faculty of the University of North Dakota at Grand Forks in 1907 and founded the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in that institution in 1908. He served as professor and chairman of the Department until 1948, when he relinquished the chairmanship of the Department and retired from active teaching in order to devote full time to writing and research.

Dr. Gillette was often referred to as the dean of rural sociology because of the formative influence that his pioneer works in the field had in this and other countries. A review of college catalogue offerings in sociology for a considerable period following the appearance of his *Constructive Rural Sociology* in 1913, and the first edition of his *Rural Sociology* in 1922, reveals the preeminence of his position in this expanding field, over many years. His early works in rural sociology attracted wide attention throughout the world, and translations of his books were used in various European universities and in the Imperial University of Japan.

Dr. Gillette's intellectual interests ranged far and wide. In addition to his work in rural sociology, he wrote books in such related areas as general sociology, education, the family, and social problems. He also published numerous articles and pamphlets on a variety of subjects, including anthropology, regionalism and weather. His intellectual activity and mental acuity showed no signs of impairment right up to the time of his death. His outstanding investigation showing a definite scientific relation between variable weather conditions and the economic status of a people, as well as a number of other researches, were done after his 80th year. He was actively engaged during the last year of his life on several projects including a sociological interpretation of the life and times of the Great Plains during his 83 years.

Dr. Gillette's scholarly achievements and remarkable personality brought him many honors at home and abroad. He had been First Vice President and President of the American Sociological Society, associate member of the International Institute of Sociology, and advisory member of the Academy of Agriculture of Czechoslovakia. He was awarded two honorary degrees—the Doctor of Laws by Park College and the Doctor of Humanities from the University of North Dakota, which he had served for forty-two years. In addition Dr. Gillette's humanitarian interests brought him into numerous state and community activities.

Dr. Gillette received his Bachelor of Arts degree from Park College in 1895. He received a Masters degree from Princeton Theological Seminary in the same year, and for a while thereafter preached in rural churches near Topeka, Kansas, and in the frontier town of Dodge City, where his sermons against saloons and gambling brought threats against his life. In 1899 he was granted a Ph.D. by the Chicago Theological Seminary; and in 1901 he received his Doctorate in Sociology from the University of Chicago. Between 1901 and 1903 he served as President of the Academy for Young Women at Jacksonville, Illinois, and later 1903-1907 as professor of psychology and social sciences at the Valley State Teachers College in North Dakota.

As may be guessed from what I have said, there was a certain tender greatness about the man, discerned imperfectly at best by those who never sat in his classroom and never knew him surrounded by his family and intimate friends. He recognized no "Chosen" people and no "pagans", and he avoided identity with any sort of group that might set him apart from the whole "run" of mankind.

JAMES M. REINHARDT.

University of Nebraska.

PROGRAM

RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

(In cooperation with the American Association for the Advancement of Science)
Hotel New Yorker, New York City

December 28-30, 1949

Registration, Hotel New Yorker, 8-10 a.m., Dec. 28.

Meeting I

Dec. 28, 10-12 a.m.; Parlors E & H, Hotel New Yorker

Subject: Rural Sociological Research in the Changing South.

Chairman: Gordon W. Blackwell, University of North Carolina.

1. "Rural Sociology's Unfinished Business in the South," Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina.
2. "Next Steps in Rural Sociological Research in the South," T. Lynn Smith, University of Florida.

Discussants:

Allen D. Edwards, Winthrop College.

C. Horace Hamilton, North Carolina State College.

Ernest E. Neal, Tuskegee Institute.

Leland B. Tate, Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

Meeting II

Dec. 28, 12-2 p.m., Parlors E & H, Hotel New Yorker.

Subject: Rural Sociological Research in the Corn and Wheat Belts.

Chairman: Ray E. Wakeley, Iowa State College.

1. "Rural Sociological Research in the Corn Belt," Edgar A. Schuler, Wayne University.
2. "Rural Sociological Research in the Wheat Belt," Otis Durant Duncan, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

Discussants:

George W. Hill, University of Wisconsin.

W. F. Kumlien, South Dakota State College.

Meeting III

Dec. 28, 3-5 p.m.; Parlors E & H, Hotel New Yorker.

Business Meeting of the Rural Sociological Society.

Chairman: Carle C. Zimmerman, Harvard University.

Meeting IV: (Joint with the American Farm Economic Association).

Dec. 28, 8-10:30 p.m.; North Ballroom, Hotel New Yorker.

Subject: The Future of Rural Life in the United States.

Chairman: Warren C. Waite, University of Minnesota.

Co-Chairman: Ray E. Wakeley, Professor of Sociology, Iowa State College, and Vice-President, Rural Sociological Society.

1. "Democracy in Rural Life," A. Whitney Griswold, Yale University.
2. "The Family Farm," Carle C. Zimmerman, Harvard University.
3. "Technological Changes and the Future of Rural Life," Sherman E. Johnson, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA.

Meeting V

Dec. 29, 8-10 a.m.; East Room, Hotel New Yorker.

Subject: Rural Sociological Research on Cultural Changes in the Appalachian Ozark Region.

Chairman: Irwin T. Sanders, University of Kentucky.

1. "The Southern Appalachians," James S. Brown, University of Kentucky.
2. "The Ozarks," J. L. Charlton, University of Arkansas.

Discussants:

Francis J. Marschner, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA.

John B. Knox, University of Tennessee.

Meeting VI

Dec. 29, 10-12 a.m.; Parlors F & G, Hotel New Yorker.

Subject: Rural Sociological Research in the Urbanized Northeast.

Chairman: Nathan L. Whetten, University of Connecticut.

1. "Rural Social Structure and Social Change in the Urbanized Northeast," Robin M. Williams, Jr., Cornell University.
2. "The Rural Resident in the Northeast," Walter C. McKain, Jr., University of Connecticut.

Discussants:

Vincent H. Whitney, Brown University.

Henry W. Riecken, Jr., Harvard University.

Donald G. Hay, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA.

Olaf F. Larson, Cornell University.

Meeting VII: (Joint with American Sociological Society).

Dec. 29, 1-3 p.m.; Parlors F & G, Hotel New Yorker.

Subject: A Critique of Basic Research.

Chairman: Carl C. Taylor, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA.

1. "Basic Research Needed in the Field of Rural Sociology," William H. Sewell, University of Wisconsin.

Discussants:

Raymond F. Sletto, Ohio State University.

Kingsley Davis, Columbia University.

Pablo Vazquez, Calcerrada, Puerto Rico.

Meeting VII: (Joint with American Sociological Society).

Dec. 29, 3-5 p.m.; Parlors F & G, Hotel New Yorker.

Subject: Rural Sociological Research in the Pacific Coast States.

Chairman: Lowry Nelson, Professor of Sociology, University of Minnesota.

1. "The Basic Problems," Albert Pierce, University of California, Berkeley.
2. "The Population Basis," C. N. Reynolds, Stanford University.
3. "The Western Frontier in Rural Sociology," Fred R. Yoder, State College of Washington.

Meeting IX

Dec. 30, 8-10 a.m.; Parlors F & G, Hotel New Yorker.

Subject: Rural Sociological Research in the Semi-Arid West.

Chairman: Carl Kraenzel, Montana State College.

1. "Social and Community Organization Concepts and Research Needs in the Arid West," R. W. Roskelley, Utah State College of Agriculture.

2. "Institutions and Minority Groups as Fields of Research in the Arid West,"
Sigurd Johansen, New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.

Discussants:

Reed H. Bradford, Brigham Young University.

A. H. Anderson, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, BAE.

Olaf F. Larson, Cornell University.

Carl F. Kraenzel, Montana State College.

Meeting X

Dec. 30, 10-12 a.m.; Parlors F & G, Hotel New Yorker.

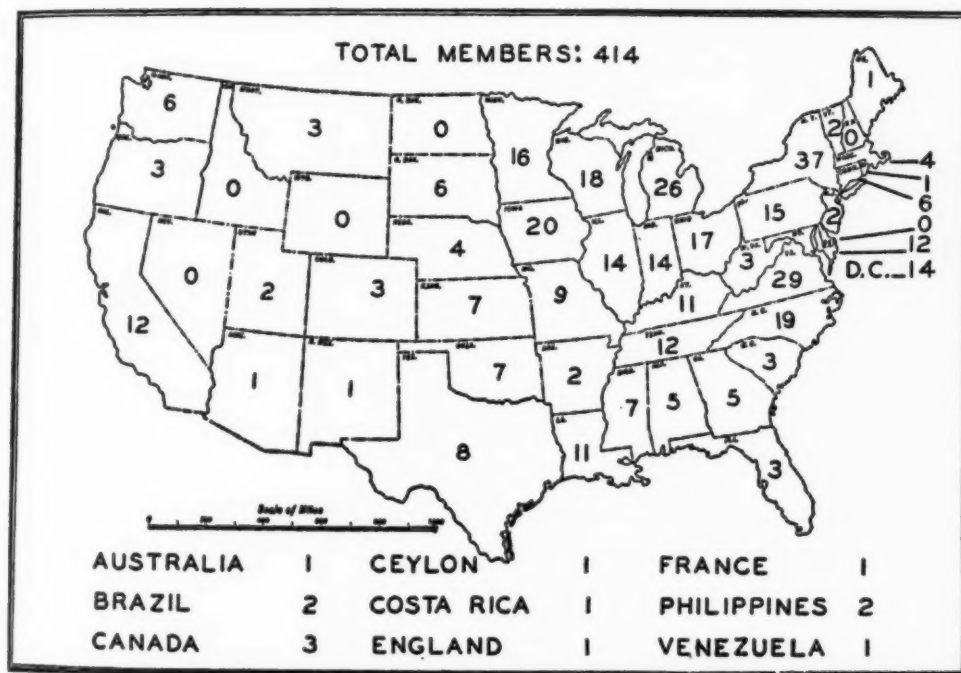
Final Business Meeting of the Rural Sociological Society.

Chairman: Carle C. Zimmerman, Harvard University.

MEMBERS IN THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1949

Compared with Four Previous Years

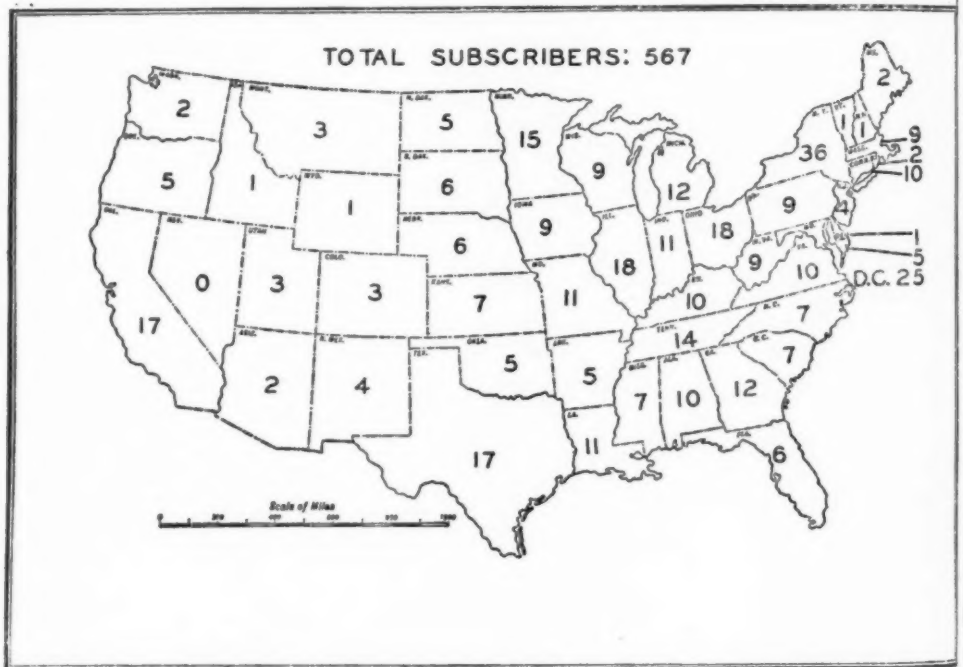
| Class | 1949 | 1948 | 1947 | 1946 |
|-----------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| Total | 424 | 438 | 424 | 400 |
| Active - professional | 327 | 349 | 339 | 340 |
| Student members | 84 | 83 | 78 | 52 |
| Joint members | 8 | 4 | 1 | 4 |
| Contributing members | 5 | 2 | 5 | 3 |
| Honorary members | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |



Members up to October 20.

FOREIGN SUBSCRIBERS

| | | | |
|---------------------|----|---------------|-----|
| Argentina | 4 | Iceland | 1 |
| Australia | 6 | India | 9 |
| Austria | 1 | Ireland | 1 |
| Belgium | 2 | Italy | 5 |
| Brazil | 6 | Java | 1 |
| British West Indies | 3 | Labanon | 3 |
| Bulgaria | 1 | Liberia | 1 |
| Burma | 1 | Mexico | 1 |
| Canada | 15 | Morocco | 1 |
| Ceylon | 2 | New Zealand | 5 |
| Chile | 1 | Norway | 4 |
| China | 7 | Philippines | 2 |
| Colombia | 1 | Poland | 3 |
| Costa Rica | 1 | Portugal | 1 |
| Czechoslovakia | 4 | Puerto Rico | 1 |
| Denmark | 5 | Romania | 1 |
| Egypt | 1 | Scotland | 4 |
| England | 9 | Spain | 3 |
| Finland | 2 | Sweden | 3 |
| France | 11 | South Africa | 7 |
| Germany | 3 | Tasmania | 1 |
| Greece | 2 | Trieste | 3 |
| Hawaii | 1 | U. S. S. R. | 1 |
| Holland | 8 | Yugoslavia | 3 |
| Hungary | 2 | Total Foreign | 164 |



RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP, 1949

ALABAMA

| | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| *Almon, Martha D. | 1021 Jackson Road | Florence |
| Gomillion, Charles G. | Box 31 | Tuskegee Institute |
| McMillan, Robert T. | Alabama Polytechnic Institute | Auburn |
| Neal, Ernest E. | Tuskegee Institute | Tuskegee Institute |
| Nunn, Alexander | The Progressive Farmer | Birmingham 2 |

ARIZONA

| | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|--------|
| Ballantyne, A. B. | University of Arizona | Tucson |
|-------------------|-----------------------|--------|

ARKANSAS

| | | |
|-------------------|------------------------|--------------|
| Charlton, J. L. | University of Arkansas | Fayetteville |
| Hudson, Gerald T. | University of Arkansas | Fayetteville |

CALIFORNIA

| | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| Atterbury, Marguerite | San Marcos | San Diego County |
| Griffin, F. L. | University of California | Davis |
| *Jamison, William G. | 5736 Adelaide Avenue | San Diego 5 |
| Julian, Correll M. | 1798 Scenic Avenue | Berkeley 9 |
| Knorr, George W. | 7831 Firestone Blvd. | Downey |
| Landis, Paul H. | 156 West 7th Street | Clairmont |
| Metzler, William H. | 222 Mercantile Building | Berkeley 4 |
| *Pierce, Albert | University of California | Berkeley 4 |
| Sibbet, Laing | 539 N. Main Street | Bishop |
| Taylor, Paul S. | University of California | Berkeley 4 |
| *Vucinich, A. S. | Building Y 21, Apt. Y | Stanford |
| Young, Erle F. | Rt. 6-414 | Modesto |

COLORADO

| | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| Hodgson, James G. | Box 275 | Fort Collins |
| *Samora, Julian | Adams State College | Alamasa |
| Stotts, Herbert E. | Iliff School of Theology | Denver |

CONNECTICUT

| | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|-----------|
| Hypes, J. L. | University of Connecticut | Storrs |
| *Kingsbury, John E. Jr. | RFD 1 | Rockville |
| McKain, Walter C., Jr. | University of Connecticut | Storrs |
| *Rotz, H. Welton | 362 Elm Street | New Haven |
| Whetten, Nathan L. | University of Connecticut | Storrs |
| Woodward, Ralph L. | 409 Prospect Street | New Haven |

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

| | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------|
| Beck, P. G. | 4716 Harrison Street, N. W. | Washington 15 |
| Belshaw, H. | 1201 Connecticut Avenue, N. W. | Washington 6 |
| Bowles, Gladys K. | 1703 Bay Street, S. E. | Washington 3 |
| Clark, Lois M. | 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W. | Washington 6 |
| Cooper, Shirley | 1201 Sixteenth St., N.W. | Washington 6 |
| Ellickson, J. C. | 3420 McKinley Street | Washington 15 |
| Folsom, Josiah C. | Bureau of Agricultural Economics | Washington 25 |
| Hagood, Margaret Jarman | Bureau of Agricultural Economics | Washington 25 |

* Student members.

Nichols, Ralph R.
 Niederfrank, E. J.
 Rose, John Kerr
 Rossoff, Milton
 Shea, John P.
 Woofter, Thomas J.
 Yang, Ellwood Hsin-Pao

Bureau of Agricultural Economics Washington 25
 Extension Service, USDA Washington 25
 1308 16th Street, N. W. Washington 6
 2712 29th Street, S. E. Washington 20
 S. C. S., USDA Washington 25
 2211 Q Building Washington 25
 1209 Trinidad Avenue, N. E. Washington

FLORIDA

Alleger, Daniel E.
 Moore, Coyle E.
 Smith, T. Lynn

University of Florida
 Florida State University
 University of Florida

Gainesville
 Tallahassee
 Gainesville

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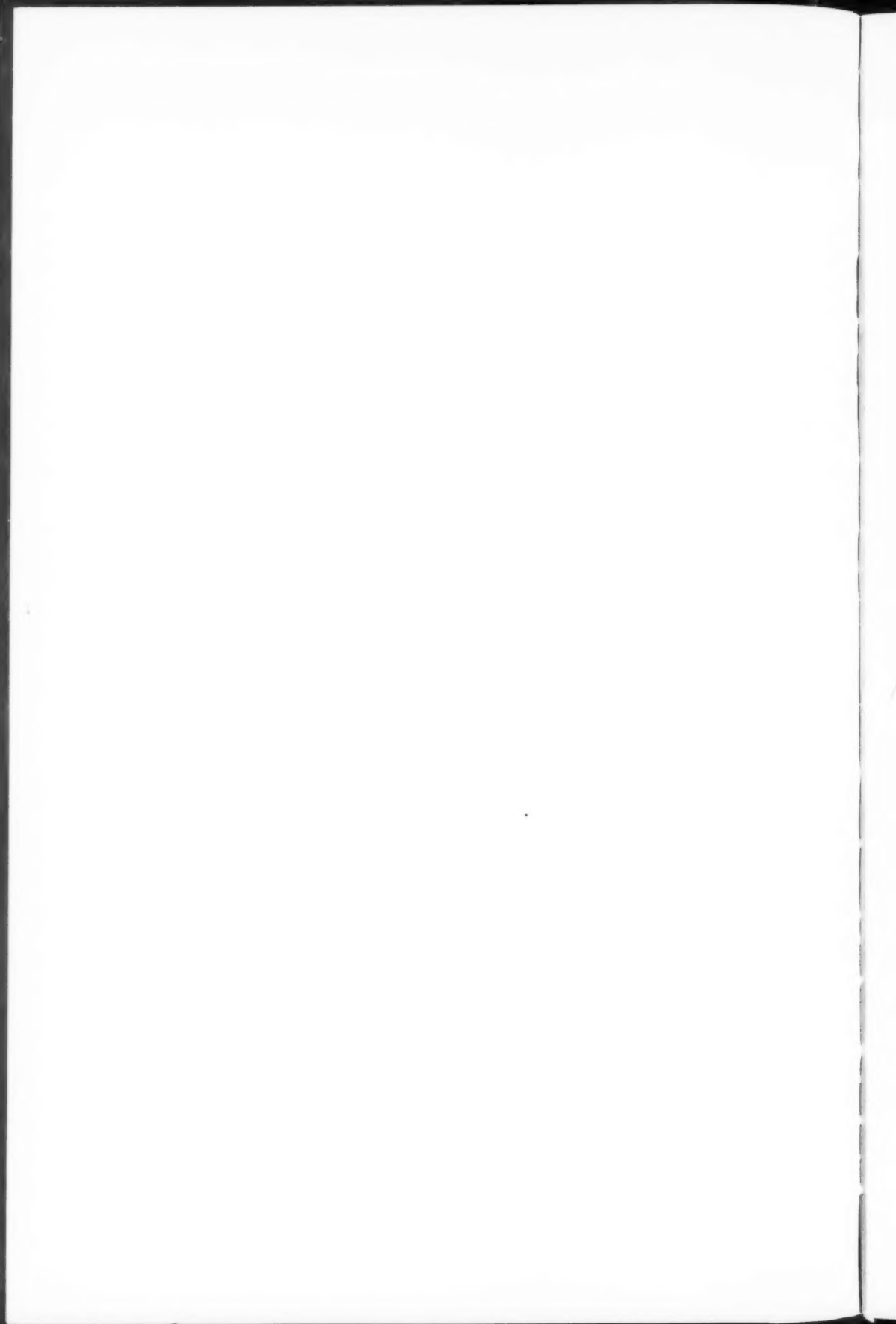
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